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PUBLICATION No. 7 OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

For the Year 1902.

Third Annual Meeting, Jacksonville

January 23 and 24, 1902.

Published by Authority of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.:
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OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

President,

HON. H. W. BECKWITH, Danville.

First Vice-President,

DR. J. F. SNYDER, Virginia.

Second Vice-President,

PROF. EVARTS B. GREENE, Urbana, University of Illinois.

Secretary and Treasurer,

J. McCAN DAVIS, Springfield.

Executive Committee,

DR. E. J. JAMES, President Northwestern University,

HON. GEORGE N. BLACK, Springfield,

HON. DAVID McCULLOCH, Peoria,

CAPT. J. H. BURNHAM, Bloomington,

DR. M. H. CHAMBERLIN, President McKendree College,

HON. H. W. BECKWITH, Danville,

J. McCAN DAVIS, Springfield.

MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Boal, Dr. Robert .... Lacon, Ill.
Bradwell, Judge James B........ Chicago, Ill.
Edwards, Mrs. Benjamin S.. Springfield, Ill.
Johnson, Hon. Charles P....... St. Louis, Mo.
*McClernand, Gen. John A.. Springfield, Ill.
McClernand, Mrs. John A.... Springfield, Ill.
Morrison, Mrs. I. L.......... Jacksonville, Ill.
*Palmer, Gen. John M......... Springfield, Ill.
Palmer, Mrs. John M.......... Springfield, Ill.
*Ruggles, Gen. James M.......... Havana, Ill.
*Stuart, Mrs. John T.......... Springfield, Ill.
Thwaites, R. G.................... Madison, Wis.
Yates, Mrs. Catharine (Mrs. Richard Yates, Sr.)................ Jacksonville, Ill.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Anderson, Horace G................ Peoria, Ill.
Barclay, James S., 103 Marion st.......... Oak Park, Ill.
Barker, H E.................... Springfield, Ill.
Barry, Hon. P. T. (Life member).......... 77-79 Jefferson st., Chicago, Ill.
Beckwith, Judge H. W........... Danville, Ill.
Black, Geo. N.................... Springfield, Ill.
Brevoort, J. H........................ Rutland, Ill.
Brown, Mrs. C. C. .... Springfield, Ill.
Brydges, W. R., 277 Division st.... Elgin, Ill.
Burnap, Prof. W. L., Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.
Burnham, Capt. J. H........ Bloomington, Ill.
Bush, Hon. J. M.................... Pittsfield, Ill.
Capen, Mr. Charles L....... Bloomington, Ill.
Carriel, Mrs. Mary Turner.. Jacksonville, Ill
Chamberlin, M. H., Pres. McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.
Congdon, Geo. S................. Waterman, Ill.
Conkling, Clinton L........... Springfield, Ill.
Cook, J. S............................. Leroy, Ill.
Crabbe, Mrs. Harriet Palmer, Springfield, Ill.
Cunningham, Judge J. O.......... Urbana, Ill.
Currey J. Seymour............. Evanston, Ill.
Cushing, Prof. J P........ New Haven, Conn.
Davis, Mr. George P .... Bloomington, Ill.
Davis, J. McCan................ Springfield, Ill.
Davis, Mrs. J. McCan .... Springfield, Ill.
Dearborn, Hon. Luther M., Tile & Trust Building.............................. Chicago
Dieffenbacher, Philip L.......... Havana, Ill.
Dilg, Charles A., 606 Diversy Boulevard, Lake View, Chicago, Ill.
Dilg, Philip H., 1727 Oakdale av., Lake View, Chicago, Ill.
Dougherty, Mr. N. C................ Peoria, Ill.
Dunn, Mrs. Julia Mills............. Moline, Ill.
Eschmann, Rev. C. J.. Prairie du Rocher, Ill.
Edwards, Dr. Richard...... Bloomington, Ill.
Fairbank, Rev. John B..... Jacksonville, Ill.
Fisher, Albert Judson (Historian Ill. Society Sons of the American Revolution.... 604 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Forbes, Prof. S. A., (University of Illinois) .... Urbana, Ill.
French, Dr. A. W .... Springfield, Ill.
Funk, Hon. D. M............ Bloomington, Ill.
Funk, Hon. Lafayette....... Bloomington, Ill.
Garrett, T. M ... 301 Ontario st., Chicago, Ill.
Gillespie, Mrs. David............. Lincoln, Ill.
Greene, Prof. Evarts B., (University of Illinois) .... Urbana, Ill.
Gridley, J. N........................ Virginia, Ill.
Gross, W. L .... Springfield, Ill.
Haines, James .... Pekin, Ill.
Hall, Henry H.......... W. College av., Jacksonville, Ill.
Hamilton, Gen. E. B................. Quincy, Ill.
Hardy, H. L......................... Chicago, Ill.
Hay, Logan...................... Springfield, Ill.
Heinl, Frank J................ Jacksonville, Ill.
Henderson, Judge John G.......... 416-417 Roanoke bldg, Chicago, Ill.
Henninger, Prof. J. W .... Macomb, Ill.
James, Dr. E. J., (Pres. Northwestern University) .... Evanston, Ill.
James Prof. J. A., (Northwestern University) .... Evanston, Ill.
Jayne, Dr. William............ Springfield, Ill.
Jones, Miss Emma F.......... Springfield, Ill.
Kane, Judge Charles P .... Springfield, Ill.
Kimball, Rev. Clarence O.. Edwardsv'le, Ill.
Little, Mrs. Helen M. J..... Bloomington, Ill.
Lodge, William F................ Monticello, Ill.
Manny, Walter I., (State's Attorney) .... Mt Sterling, Ill.
McConnel, G. M., (Chicago Chronicle)... Chicago, Ill.
McCulloch, Judge David........... Peoria, Ill.
Merritt, Hon. E. L.............. Springfield, Ill.
Mills, Richard W.................. Virginia, Ill.
Moss, John R.................... Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Norton, W. T., (Postmaster) .... Alton, Ill.
Orendorff, Hon. Alfred .... Springfield, Ill.
Orendorf, Hon. John B .... Bloomington, Ill.
Osborne, Miss Georgia L... Jacksonville, Ill.
Page, Prof. E. C., Normal School, ... DeKalb, Ill.
Parker, C. M. (The School News)....... Taylorville, Ill.
Pearson, J. M................... .... Godfrey, Ill.
Perrin, Hon. J. N.................. Lebanon, Ill.
Pierce, Frederick C., (Vice President and Secretary Sherman Historical Association)........ P. O. Box 244, Chicago, Ill.
Prince, Ezra M .... Bloomington, Ill.
Pitner, Dr. T. J.............. Jacksonville, Ill.
Putnam, J. W. (Illinois College) .... Jacksonville, Ill.
Quincy Historical Society......... Quincy, Ill.
Sanders, Hon Geo. A .... Springfield, Ill.
Schmict, Dr. Otto L., 3228 Michigan av., Chicago, Ill.
Scott, Edgar S................... Springfield, Ill.
Selby, Paul.... 3813 Rhodes av., Chicago, Ill.
Sheppard, Prof. R. D. (Northwestern University), Evanston, Ill.
Smith, Col. D. C...................... Normal, Ill.
Smith, Geo. W. (Southern Illinois Normal University), Carbondale, Ill.

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* Deceased.

Active Members—Concluded.

Snively, Hon. E. A ....Springfield, Ill.
Snyder, Dr. J. F ....Virginia, Ill.
Sparks, Prof. E. E. (University of Chicago) ....Chicago, Ill.
Spear, S. L. ....Springfield, Ill.
Stearns, Arthur K., 112-114 Genesee st., ...Waukegan, Ill.
Stevens, F. E., 1205 Chamber of Commerce Bldg. ....Chicago, Ill.
Steward, John F., 1889 Sheridan road... ....Chicago, Ill.
Stuve, Dr. Bernard, 526 South Seventh st ....Springfield, Ill.
Taylor, Mrs. H. R ....Springfield, Ill.
Thayer, Miss Maude.........Springfield, Ill.
Tomlin, Mrs. Eliza I. H., 904 S. Main st., ...Jacksonville, Ill.
Vocke, Hon. William, (President German American Historical Society) ....108-109 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Waite, H. N., M. D., King and Monroe sts ....Decatur, Ill.
Wallace, Joseph ....Springfield, Ill.
Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer .Springfield, Ill.
West, Hon. Simeon H........Monmouth, Ill.
Wheeler, Mrs. Katherine Goss.......... ....Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, Judge S. P... .... Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, C. Gilbert, 14 State st. Chicago, Ill.
Wightman, G. F....................Lacon, Ill.
Willcox, E. S ....Peoria, Ill.
Worthington, Hon. Thos...Jacksonville, Ill.
Worthington, Mrs. Thos....Jacksonville, Ill.
Wyckoff, Dr. Charles T. (Bradley Polytechnic Institute)..............Peoria, Ill.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

The society held its annual business meeting in the Illinois College chapel at 11:00 a. m., Jan. 23, President Beckwith presiding.

Captain Burnham offered an amendment to article IV, section 1, of the constitution, providing for an increase of the executive committee from five to fifteen members aside from the president and the secretary. It was voted that this amendment should lie over till the next annual meeting and that the secretary should report it to the members of the society 30 days before said meeting.

The secretary and treasurer's reports were read and were received by the society.

On motion of Prof. J. A. James and by vote of the society, the president appointed a committee of three to nominate officers for 1902. The president appointed J. A. James, Dr. Bernard Stuve and G. N. Black.

While awaiting a report of this committee, Dr. J. F. Snyder read a paper suggestive of improvements in the work of the society.

Prof. J. A. James read the report of the nominating committee, whereupon the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the society for the candidates named.

The secretary cast the ballot of the society for the offices named as follows:

President.—Hon. H. W. Beckwith, Danville.

First Vice-President.—Dr. J. F. Snyder, Virginia.

Second Vice-President.—Prof. E. B. Greene, University of Illinois.

Secretary and Treasurer.—J. McCan Davis, Springfield, Ill.

Executive Committee.—The president, the secretary, Hon. G. N. Black, Hon. David McCulloch, Captain J. H. Burnham, President M. H. Chamberlin and President E. J. James. They were declared elected.

It was voted, on motion of Dr. J. F. Snyder, that a committee of six be appointed, to be called a Committee on Legislation, with power to act for the society. The president appointed on this committee Hon. George N. Black of Springfied, chairman; General Alfred Orendorff of Springfield, Hon. David McCulloch of Peoria, Dr. E. J. James of Evanston, Hon. J. O. Cunningham of Urbana, and Hon. Thomas Rinaker of Carlinville.

On motion of Captain Burnham, it was voted that the society authorize the board of Trustees to request of the Illinois commission-

ers to the St. Louis exposition some share of the State appropriation to that exposition, to be expended jointly by the commissioners and the board of trustees.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

During the year 1901 the society has had a slow but perceptible growth. Its work has moved quietly forward, and its achievements have not been insignificant.

The second annual meeting was held in Springfield Wednesday and Thursday, Jan. 30 and 31, 1901. At this meeting plans were formed which, if it be possible to put them into execution, will carry the society a long way forward in the accomplishment of its intended work.

In accordance with one of the plans then made, the society has entered in a small way on the work of securing for publication, in its Annual Transactions, historical material other than merely the papers read at the annual meetings. This is a work that deserves to be extended. A vast amount of original source material has already been lost for want of some systematic effort to seek it out and put it into a permanent form. This is a legitimate work of the society, and along this line it can render future generations an inestimable service.

The articles of incorporation state the objects of the society to be: "To excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation, and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of historical data in any way connected with Illinois and its people." For the accomplishment of these objects the society needs:

First.—A larger and more active membership. It ought to be represented by at least one member in every community in the State, and every member ought to take an active interest in seeking out the historical material in his community which is worth preservation by the State.

Secondly.—A closer affiliation with the local historical societies. The relations existing between the society and the various local societies throughout the State are most cordial and friendly, but there should be not only a bond of sympathy, but also a bond of union which will make the work of all one systematic whole.

Thirdly.—Larger funds. The work of the society has been hampered from the beginning for a lack of funds with which to carry out its plans. An increase in membership would be of some financial assistance, but not adequate to the society's needs.

Fourthly.—A more vital connection with the State Historical library. The Society must have a depository for the materials it collects and desires to preserve. The library must have collectors of material. Each is the complement of the other. Therefore, the work could be more systematically done if it were all under the direction of one board or committee.

Fifthly.—A more workable library. The present quarters are already overcrowded. With ample space for the proper disposition of whatever material it might be able to acquire, the library would become a greater factor in stimulating an interest in and an acquaintance with the history of the State.

Sixthly.—A corresponding secretary, to direct and supervise the work of collecting and preserving such material as may possess any historical importance.

Some of these needs can be supplied by the members of this society, and by them alone; others only by an action of the State Leg-

islature. But, while the society has no desire to ask unreasonable appropriations, it does ask reasonable recognition and reasonable support in its efforts to perform a public service. And, as a means of improving that service, your acting secretary would call attention to the recommendations made to the society at its last meeting, and emphasize their importance:

1. That the Legislature, in making its appropriation for the State Historical library, should include an item for the expenses of the Historical society.

2. That of this a sufficient amount should be paid to a competent expert who should act as the corresponding secretary of the society and perform the other functions outlined above, subject to the direction of the executive committee.

3. That this corresponding secretary should be appointed by the executive committee of the Historical society, subject to the approval of the board of trustees of the State Historical library, and should be ex-officio a member of that body.

4. That such an appointment once made should be held subject to the conditions only of good behavior and efficient service.

Respectfully submitted,

J. W. Putnam,
Acting Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Year Ending Dec. 31, 1901.

RECEIPTS.		
Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1901	$36 45	
Initiation fees	18 00	
Annual fees	47 00	
Total receipts		$101 45
EXPENDITURES.		
Postage	6 75	
Printing and stationery	15 25	
Expenses, committee on auxiliary societies	23 75	
R. G. Thwaites	26 00	
Total expenditures		$71 75
		$29 70

LITERARY SESSIONS.

The program for Thursday and Friday, January 23 and 24, was carried out as follows:

Thursday, January 23—2:00 P. M., Literary Sessions.

"Illinois College"............................Hon. E. P. Kirby, Jacksonville
*"McKendree College"......Dr. E. J. James, Pres. Northwestern University
"Peter Cartwright"............Pres. H. M. Chamberlin, McKendree College
"Early Religious methods and Leaders in Illinois"..............
....................................Dr. W. F. Short, Jacksonville
"The People of Illinois"....................Maj. Geo. M. McConnel, Chicago

8:00 P. M.

"Address of Welcome"..................Pres. C. W. Barnes, Illinois College
"Response"......................Hon. H. W. Beckwith, Pres. of the Society
Annual Address—"The Sources and Results of Law in Illinois"
..........Hon. John N. Jewett, Pres. Chicago Historical Society

Friday, January 24—9:30 A. M.

"The First Irish in Illinois. Reminiscent of Old Kaskaskia Days"
Hon. P. T. Barry, Chicago, Ill., Vice-President Irish-
......American Historical Society. (Read by Dr. J. F. Snyder.)
"Some Facts in the Judicial History of Illinois".................
................................Hon. J. O. Cunningham, Urbana
"The Bishop Hill Colony"......................Hon. Hiram Bigelow, Galva
"Major John T. Stuart"......................Hon. C. C. Brown, Springfield
"The State's Internal Improvement Venture of 1837-38"........
..................................Dr. Bernard Stuve, Springfield
"Kaskaskia Roads and Trails"..................Frank Moore, Esq., Chester

2:00 P. M.

"The French in Illinois"........................Hon. J. N. Perrin, Lebanon
"Saukenuk, Black Hawk's Village..........Mrs. Julia Mills Dunn, Moline
"Illinois Ancestry in the Daughters of the American Revolution
...............................Mrs. Edwin Erle Sparks, Chicago
"Richard Yates' Services to the Union as War Governor"......
..................................Dr. William Jayne Springfield
"The Destruction of the Fox Indians in 1730 by the French and
their Allies'"....................John F. Steward, Esq., Chicago

8.00 P. M.

Reception by President and Mrs. Barnes, Illinois College.

At the conclusion of the literary program, the society voted its thanks to the acting secretary, to the Rev. James Caldwell, Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution for serving so acceptably as a local reception committee, and to the citizens of Jacksonville for their hospitality.

The society then adjourned.

J. W. PUTNAM,
Acting Secretary.

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*The paper of Dr. E. J James on "McKendree College" failed to reach the publication committee in time for insertion in this volume of "Transactions."

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Oct. 1, 1901.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the State Historical library, at Springfield, Oct. 1, 1901. All the members were present except Secretary Greene and Dr. Chamberlin. Dr. J. F. Snyder and General Alfred Orendorff also met with the committee, as did also J. W. Putnam.

On motion of Prof. James, it was voted to hold the next annual meeting of the society in Jacksonville, Thursday and Friday, Jan. 23 and 24, 1902.

On motion of Prof. James it was also voted that J. W. Putnam act as secretary and treasurer during the absence of Prof. Greene.

On motion of Prof. James, a committee, consisting of Dr. J. F. Snyder, chairman, and Hon. H. W. Beckwith and J. W. Putnam, was appointed to revise the material for publication in the next volume of the "Transactions" of the society.

On motion of Captain Burnham, it was voted that the society ask permission to assist in decorating and furnishing the Illinois building at the St. Louis exposition.

It was also voted, on motion of Captain Burnham that the Executive committee act as temporary committee to present the subject to the Governor and to the commissioners to the St. Louis exposition.

Adjourned.

J. W. PUTNAM,
Acting Secretary.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL., Jan 23–24, 1902.

The Executive committee of the society met at 10:00 a. m., January 23, in Illinois College chapel, Jacksonville, President Beckwith presiding. There were present, besides the president and acting secretary, Messrs. Black, Burnham, James, Chamberlin and McCulloch, and, by invitation, Dr. J. F. Snyder.

The reports of the secretary and treasurer were read and adopted. It was voted, on motion of Captain Burnham, that the Executive committee, in their capacity as trustees, should meet at the Dunlap house immediately after the close of the evening session of the society.

TRUSTEE MEETING.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL., Jan. 23.

The board of trustees of the society met at 10:30 p. m., January 23, in the parlor of the Dunlap house, President Beckwith presiding. Those present were the president, the acting secretary, and Messrs. Burnham, McCulloch, Black and Chamberlin.

It was voted, on motion of Mr. Black, that a committee of three be appointed by the chair to form a set of by-laws for the society. The president appointed Messrs. McCulloch, Burnham aud Black.

On motion of Captain Burnham, it was voted that a Committee on Finance and a Committee on Local Historical Societies be appointed as permanent committees.

On motion of Captain Burnham, it was voted that the Committee on Legislation be made a standing committee.

It was voted, on motion of Mr. Black, that a committee be appointed to see whether the records in the office of the Secretary of State have the name of the location inserted, and if not, to have it inserted.

It was voted that the chairman of the Committee on By-Laws act as such committee.

On motion of Captain Burnham it was voted that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the commissioners to the St. Louis exposition. Dr. James, Mr. Black and Captain Burnham were appointed such committee with power to fill vacancies if any should occur, or to add to the number on the committee if desired.

It was voted on motion of Captain Burnham, that the committee on local historical societies be empowered to appoint a representative in each county to aid the State society in its work.

Communications from the Logan county and the Quincy Historical societies were read by the secretary as follows:

To the Illinois State Historical Society:

This is to certify that Mrs. David Gillespie of Lincoln, Ill., has been appointed to represent the Logan County Historical society at the meeting of the Illinois State Historical society in the city of Jacksonville, Ill., on the 23rd and 24th days of January, A. D. 1902.

Dated at Lincoln, Ill., this 20th day of January, A. D. 1902.

J. T. HOBLIT,
President Logan County Historical Society.

Inasmuch as the Historical society of Quincy, Ill., has received official notice of the third annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical society, to be held at Jacksonville on the 23rd and the 24th inst., also a copy of the program and information setting forth the objects of the society, and an invitation to affiliate with the organization, therefore be it,

Resolved, That this society hereby designates Gen. E. B. Hamilton, our vice-president, and any of our other members who may be able to attend the meeting of the State society, to represent this society at the meeting, and to convey to that society our cordial endorsement of its objects and our sincere wish for the fullest success af all its work to that most worthy end. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, duly attested, be furnished our delegates, and that a copy of the resolutions be filed in our archives.

Dated at Quincy, Ill., Jan. 14, 1902.

C. F. PERRY,
Chairman Committee.

It was moved by Mr. Black that the communications be received and recorded on the books of the society and these societies be regarded as auxiliary to the State Historical society. The motion prevailed.

On motion of Mr. Black, the treasurer was authorized to pay the bills outstanding against the society.

The board adjourned subject to the call of the president.

TRUSTEE MEETING.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL., Jan. 24.

The trustees met at the call of the president at 10:00 a. m., Jan. 24. All members of the board present

The president nominated Mrs. Catherine Yates (Mrs. Richard Yates, sr.) and Mrs. Isaac L. Morrison as honorary members of the society. The nominations were confirmed by the trustees.

It was voted on motion of Judge McCulloch that the secretary be instructed to procure a seal with a device approved by the president, if the society has no seal.

On motion of Judge McCulloch, it was voted that the constitution as printed in the transactions for 1901, be adopted as the rule of action for this board till superseded by a code of by-laws, except that wherever the words "executive committee" or "trustees" appear in the constitution, the word "directors" shall be substituted therefor; and except further that the last clause of section 1, article 4, and the first clause of article 5, and the whole of article 6 shall be omitted.

It was voted on motion of Captain Burnham that the society hold its next annual meeting at Springfield, at such date in January, 1903, as the program committee may determine.

Adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS—STATISTICS AND SUGGESTIONS.

[By Dr. J. F. Snyder, First Vice President Illinois State Historical Society.]

No state in the Union, west of the Alleghany mountains, has a more interesting history than Illinois.

Among its picturesque ranges of bluffs; along the shores of its beautiful streams and lakes, and on its fertile prairies and alluvial bottoms, abound the curious relics of its earliest human occupants in the distant past—evidences of the primitive beginnings of the mound building Indians, and of their highest culture.

Here, in Illinois, the ethnologist finds a limitless field for tracing the origin, migrations, affinities and racial characteristics of the numerous tribes of nomadic and semi-sedentary Indians that replaced the mound builders, and chased the buffalo and elk over our boundless prairies and made this region the theatre of their interminable wars for supremacy.

It was here, in Illinois, the first germs of civilization were planted in the Mississippi valley, that struck deep their roots in its generous soil, and grew and expanded until, displacing its aboriginal inhabitants, they converted the wilderness of forest and plain into a rich and mighty state.

The first peopling of Illinois by hardy Canadian and French adventurers, presenting so many elements of romance, lends a peculiar charm to its early history.

Then the efforts of France, with her priests and arms and forts. to colonize Illinois, is also a fascinating page of her story.

The fierce contention of European monarchies, in the 18th century, for dominion over the great west, culminating in the surrender of Fort Chartress and transfer of the Illinois to Great Britain, adds another page of absorbing interest.

Then followed the heroic expedition of Col. George Rogers Clark, and the wrestling of Illinois from England, and attaching it to the new-born republic, to become in time one of its brightest gems.

Upon the trail of Col. Clark and his men, pressed a horde of rugged pioneers, whose numbers, ever increasing, spread over the hills and prairies of Illinois, and, by the magic of their genius and industry, wrought from her hidden resources her wealth and splendor.

The victories of Illinoisans, in peace, over the wild forces of nature, over dire machinations to fasten the blight of slavery upon her fair domain, and over all other obstacles in the path of her wondrous progress, were no less brilliant than the achievements of her sons on the gory fields of the English war of 1812, the Indian wars, the conflict with Mexico, and the great civil war.

In the field of politics, statesmanship and diplomacy, in arts, philosophy and education; in the realm of science, poetry and literature, and in the amazing advancements in mechanical inventions and discoveries, the sons and daughters of Illinois have been found in the front ranks, and are today, in those lines of brain work, the peers of any in the world.

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY BUILDING.—Dedicated October, 1900; cost $600,000.

IOWA HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT BUILDING.—West wing of proposed structure. Wing cost $50,000; furnishings and fittings, $20,000; occupied January, 1900.

With patriotic pride we contemplate the grandeur of Illinois and exult over her vast mine of historic wealth outlined in this rapid sketch.

Let us pause here and inquire what the State of Illinois has done in collecting and preserving the voluminous and intensely interesting records of her foundation; and of the agencies that have reared upon that foundation its présent splendid superstructure.

Not until the year 1889—71 years after its admission into the Union—did the State of Illinois awake to the importance—indeed, the necessity—of taking action for rescuing from oblivion, and preserving, the fading records of her history. In that year, the 36th General Assembly passed a bill for an "Act creating a state historical library," to be managed by three non-salaried trustees, appointed by the Governor for the term of four years.

The act founding the historical library appropriated $2,500 annually for its maintenance, book purchasing fund and librarian's salary. That amount was increased to $3,200 annually from 1891 to 1895, inclusive. In 1897 it was further increased by the legislature to $4,000. In 1899 a publication fund of $600 was added, and in 1901 there was appropriated, for annual maintenance, $1,500; for librarian's salary, $1,000, and for publishing, $1,000. By a special act, the further sum of $2,500 was granted for collecting and publishing certain specified historical documents and papers. The total amount thus far appropriated by the State in 13 years, for its historical library and its publications, aggregates $34,300, of which $10,040 was paid in salaries.

As an equivalent for that expenditure, the historical library of Illinois at this date comprises, approximately, 6,000 books, 7,416 pamphlets, 55 maps and atlases, 170 manuscripts, 74 portraits and other pictures, and 17 historic relics. Among its books are about 100 bound volumes of newspapers, and it receives regularly four daily newspapers—one of those from Missouri—and has three of them bound every quarter.

It must be admitted that the State of Illinois has made a very creditable beginning in accumulating so valuable a collection of historical material in 13 years, for the modest sum of $34,300. The library has outgrown the limited space alloted to it by the State, and imperatively demands more roomy quarters and fireproof shelving and cases. It also needs the intelligent contributive aid and coöperation of the State Historical society to make it a source of diffusive knowledge and a benefit to the people at large.

The value of a State Historical society, with unlimited membership, for collecting, systematising and investigating historical data, and for diffusion of facts thus gained, need not here be discussed. It is known to all. It was so strongly impressed upon the early public and literary men of our State, that they formed such an organization at Vandalia, the State capital, as far back as 1827. Judge James Hall, the gifted writer, was elected its president, and on its roll of members were the now historic names of John Mason Peck, Professor John Russell, Sidney Breese, Governor Coles, Governor Edwards, John Reynolds, Samuel D. Lockwood, David J. Baker, Chief Justice Wilson, Samuel McRoberts, Peter Cartwright, Wm. L. D. Ewing, Wm. Thomas, Richard M. Young and Theophilus W. Smith. The society held several sessions of exceeding interest, when many original papers were read and addresses delivered of the highest historic importance. The abandonment of that organization and loss of its archives were a positive calamity to the State, more grievous than its bank suspensions or collapse of its subsequent Quixotic internal improvement enterprises. But with an empty State treasury and very attenuated revenues. State aid for perpetuating the society was out of the question; and without State recognition and aid, or ample wealth of its members, no State historical society can long be maintained.

In recent years local historical societies have been established in a few of the most populous and wealthy counties of Illinois and sustained by individual efforts of their enlightened and public spirited citizens.

We are all familiar with the noble work of the Chicago Historical society. Organized in 1856, it suffered total loss of its building, library and collections in the great fire that destroyed Chicago in 1871, and again the nucleus of its re-establishment was swept away by fire in 1874. Phœnix-like, it arose from

its ashes and once more began the great work and persevered. It now occupies its own majestic building, erected by private subscription at the cost of $190.000. In its spacious rooms are 30,000 books, 60,000 pamphlets, 5,000 manuscripts, over 100 oil paintings of distinguished men connected with our local history, and a large number of engravings and photographs, 1,000 bound volumes of Illinois newspapers, and a vast collection of historic and prehistoric relics. And all that has been accomplished without a dollar of state or city aid. But it is obvious that such magnificent results could not be possible without extraneous aid, excepting in a large and wealthy city, and by the munificence of its opulent citizens of culture and refined literary tastes.

Not until May, 1899, was a second attempt made to establish a State historical society in Illinois. In that month an organization with that title was effected by a few of us who met for that purpose at the State university. In June following we placed the society on an enduring basis, so far as was in our power, by fixing its seat at the State capital and incorporating it in accordance with provisions of the State incorporation laws. Without state recognition or aid we have since held regular meetings and made some contributions of value to the history of our State, and intend to continue our unthanked labors.

There are in the United States two classes of historical societies; the one supported by endowments, gifts and membership fees—such as that of Chicago, of St. Louis, and of many of the eastern cities. The other class, of which Wisconsin is the highest type in the west, are maintained altogether by the state. Thus far the State of Illinois has given neither aid or encouragement to a society of either class, but it has collected a store of rare and valuable data, which awaits the studious toil and discriminating sifting of a historical society to develop its sterling worth.

Having seen what Illinois has done for the care of its history, it may be of interest to glance at what two or three of our neighboring states have done for preservation of their history.

Kansas was admitted as a state in 1861, 43 years after the admission of Illinois. In 1876 a State Historical society was there organized, which, with its library and collections, was shortly afterward adopted by the state in its historical department. For the maintenance of that department the state of Kansas has appropriated to date a little over $125,000. The last Kansas Legislature granted for its support for the years 1901–1902 the sum of $13,280. In addition to that provision, it appropriated $15,000 for steel shelving and library furniture. As the result of all that expenditure by the state, the Kansas Historical department now possesses 23,051 books, 67,418 pamphlets, 23,907 volumes of Kansas newspapers, 23,317 manuscripts, 5,030 pictures, 4,886 maps and atlases, and 6,397 historic relics. It also regularly receives and preserves a copy of each newspaper and periodical published in the state of Kansas.

Iowa was admitted into the Union in 1844, 27 years later than Illinois. In 1892 the Iowa Legislature established its State Historical department with an annual appropriation of $7,500 for two years. Each of its legislatures since has granted it $6,000 per annum, besides a liberal publication fund. Its library and other collections are about equal to those of Kansas in extent. It has over 3,000 bound volumes of Iowa newspapers, and regularly receives 300 Iowa publications. It publishes quarterly "The Annals of Iowa," an 80 page, finely illustrated magazine of Iowa and western history and biography. It also publishes a biennial report, and has issued 15 volumes of Iowa territorial laws and numerous historical monographs. The state of Iowa has now in process of construction for its historical department, upon ground donated for the purpose, a magnificent stone edifice that, when completed, will cost $400,000.

The state of Wisconsin, admitted into the Union in 1847, 29 years after Illinois became a State, excels all the states of the Mississippi valley in the amount expended for its historical department, and in the results achieved by that department. Its library contains 108,860 books and 106,746 pamphlets. It receives regularly 340 Wisconsin newspapers and periodicals, and 409 from other states. Its famous collection of Draper manuscripts is the most exten-

sive and valuable of any similar collection in the United States, New York perhaps excepted. Its maps and atlases number in the thousands. The publications it issues from time to time are numerous and of the highest authenticity. Its portrait and picture gallery fills a large hall, and its museum of historic relics and pre-Columbian antiquities, collected in Wisconsin, is unsurpassed by any other state museum in the west. Its one specialty of ancient copper implements of the aborigines cannot be duplicated anywhere. So complete are the historical collections of Wisconsin that Illinois students—we acknowledge with shame—are compelled to go there to study the history of their own State. Each Wisconsin Legislature since 1892 has appropriated $5,000 annually for current expenses of its historical department, besides liberal publication and book purchasing funds. The Legislature of 1900 increased the historical department's annual appropriation to $8,333, and gave it a special sum of $20,000 for 1901. During last summer the Wisconsin historical department moved and installed its library, picture gallery, museum and other collections into its new palatial building in Madison, erected for it by the state at the cost of $620,000.

We are proud of Illinois, of her commanding position in the Union, of her resources and wealth, and of her eventful and glorious history; hence cannot repress a feeling of humiliation when reminded that Wisconsin—made up a little over half a century ago of what was left of the northwestern territory, after Illinois had taken from the southern end of that remnant enough to form our 14 northern counties including Chicago and the Galena lead mines—a state greatly surpassed by Illinois in population and products, has expended two-thirds of a million of dollars upon its historical department, and amassed at our very door a priceless historical collection, unexcelled in the Mississippi valley, while Illinois has expended but $34,300 for the same object and is yet without a historical department.

In the states mentioned, as in several others, having established historical departments, it may be here explained the libraries of those departments are not strictly confined to historical publications alone, but comprehend the entire library of the states excepting their law libraries. There are now in the State house at Springfield three separate libraries belonging to the State, namely: The State library, the State Historical library and the State Law library. The Historical library is not restricted to works on Illinois history exclusively, but contains many devoted to general history, to poetry, science and promiscuous literature. Among the miscellaneous publications in the State library are many valuable historical volumes also. The two are on the same floor in adjoining rooms and each in charge of a special librarian and an assistant. What reason exists, if any, why the two should not be consolidated, as in Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan and other states, in one State Historical library, and be made a part of the State historical department?

Appreciating as we do the exceptional opportunities for acquisitions of historical data that Illinois has lost, by neglect and indifference, in past years, we are impressed with a sense of duty due to our society to the public and to posterity, to do all in our power, even at this late date, to retrieve, as far as possible, that loss, and give to the historical interests of our State the prominence and value to which they are justly entitled. That can yet be accomplished by the willing gratuitous labors of the State Historical society, if aided and encouraged by the State.

To enable us to so serve the State, our committee on legislation should be instructed to ask of the next general assembly the following legislation:

An act, providing for the establishing of a State Department of History, comprising the present State library, the State Historical library and the State Historical society, to be controlled and managed by the Secretary of State, the Superintendent of Public Instruction and President of the State Historical society acting as a board of trustees. Said State Department of History to occupy the rooms in the State house now occupied by the two State libraries above mentioned.

The secretary, librarian and such assistant librarians as may be necessary, to be the only officials of said State Department of History to receive compensation.

The secretary of the State Historical society to be, *ex-officio*, secretary of the State Department of History. The Librarian and assistants to be appointed by the board of trustees.

An annual appropriation to defray expenses of publishing reports, transactions and contributions to the history of Illinois.

Also, authorizing the board of trustees of the State Department of History to gather together, in the south library room, all Illinois historical relics now in possession of the State, and establish there a State Historical museum—as has been done in many other states of the Union.

A State Historical museum, in connection with the consolidated libraries, would here prove to be a novel, attractive and valuable educational agency, teaching by instructive and interesting object lessons the history of the State's industrial, economic and social progress, from the stone implements of its prehistoric aborigines, the trappings, accoutrements and weapons of its more recent Indian tribes, the simple mechanical devices, domestic appliances and utensils of our early pioneers, on up and through the successive phases of improvement and refining processes marking the marvelous onward and upward advance of our great State.

The changes wrought by the legislation herein outlined would be of inestimable benefit to the people of our State. They would create no new offices and incur no additional expenses but a trifling amount annually for valuable publications, but would in effect simply cause a rearranging, reorganizing and proper combination of the present disconnected historical and literary material belonging to the State, and render it more available and effective for the student, the scholar and the historian.

Address of Welcome.

[By Dr. C. W. Barnes, President of Illinois College.]

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

It gives me great pleasure this evening to extend to you a word of welcome in behalf of the city of Jacksonville and of Illinois college. We feel you have done us no small honor, and certainly have afforded us a very great pleasure in choosing our city and our old college as your meeting place for this year. Jacksonville can not offer such wonderful evidences of commercial prosperity as the great city of Chicago, such evidences of wealth as Peoria or even Bloomington, such evidences of political activity as our neighboring city of Springfield, but it can offer to the student that which is of especial interest to you—records that reach far back into the past, marks of antiquity which are full of interest, and a history made fragrant and beautiful by noble lives willingly given in behalf af their State and country. We feel that this makes our little town and old college dear to you, and that the pleasure of this gathering is, therefore, mutual.

As one looks back over the work accomplished by various members of your society, he can well understand the pride which you all feel in your organization, and the bright outlook which you see for it in the future. Some of you have gathered together bits of ancient history, brought from far and near, pertaining to the early days of Illinois, which, without your energetic labors must certainly have been forever lost; some of you have skillfully woven together facts heretofore unrelated, and so have brought to life an almost new history of certain portions of our community, and others of you have taken these bits of facts and these scattered data of historical events, and have so breathed into them the breath of life that the times gone by seem to once more throb and pulse with the joys and sorrows, the aspirations

and the failures of a living people, so truly living that we love as they love and sorrow as they sorrow, and find ourselves moving in the very atmosphere of those by-gone days in which they had their being. All this means a great gain to the student of history who is seeking to acquaint himself intimately with the early days of our commonwealth, but it also means, or should mean a great gain in higher citizenship for every man in Illinois to-day. Out of the past we should learn lessons for the present and the future. By the wisdom of our forefathers our judgment should be better, because of their mistakes, our failures should be less; where passion and prejudice wrought harm to them, we should be doubly safe-guarded against like errors.

But all this is in a large measure dependent on how carefully you members of the Illinois State Historical society fulfill your mission. Let history be used as the ground-work of fiction, so long as it gives us a true atmosphere of those early years, and helps us to see and to feel as men did in those times; let hitherto unrelated data be so brought together as to give us new views of old scenes; but against this be on your guard: Distorting facts for the sake of more pleasing results, misrepresenting truths for the sake of a more noble record, glossing over errors that the times gone by may seem as full of virtue and as free from vice as the proverbial "good old days." Strong with hope and courage, and full of confidence in our God-given opportunities, let us not shut our eyes to whatever history has recorded whether it be good or evil; but, helped by such societies as yours to clearly read the pages that have been written, let us learn such lessons from the past as will help up to do better in the future, and more ably serve our country and our God.

We bid you welcome, therefore, to this old town, and especially to this old college with all its noble history of success and of failure, and we hope that by reason of your stay here, though only for a few short days, there may be gathered into the annals of history some new and inspiring story taken from the lives of those who helped to plant these elms and build these buildings. Let your poets sing to us the sweet melodies that have for so many years been sounding through these leafy trees on College hill as they looked down on young and old passing to their tasks; let your novelists find an inspiration for new tales in the worn steps which lead to the old halls, and in the names that have so long been carved in the rough brick walls; and let him to whom facts alone appeal find in the records which fill our shelves or are carefully treasured in the college vaults, such hitherto undiscovered data as shall better tell the splendid story of the days of our honored fathers.

Response.

[By Hon. H. W. Beckwith, President of the Society.]

President Barnes:—The Illinois State Historical society, by its chairman, thanks you and the people of Jacksonville for your hearty welcome. To me this presence is more than a passing event.

As a witness tree in the timber, or the little mound with its deposit of charcoal out on the prairie, proves the original corner, so does your city and county mark the high grade of moral and mental worth that was planted here by its early settlers nearly hand in hand with its government land surveys. Let us expand this though a little. We will be brief, conscious as we are of other claims on the program. Draw a line down the west side of Sangamon county, thence west on the north ends of Macoupin and Greene to the Illinois river, thence up its waters to the Sangamon; follow this river easterly to where it enters Sangamon county, and you have traced the original outline of Morgan county as formed in 1823. Two years before then, in all this extent, there lived only twenty families of white people. A number of Pottawottomie and Kickapoo Indians still lingered here, to till and hunt over this heritage of their fathers.

In the emigrant "Guides" and "Illinois Gazetteers" a few years later, Beardstown and Winchester figure among the towns of promise in your county. They became county seats in time, the one of Cass and the other of Scott, as they in turn were carved out of Morgan county.

A guide book referred to says of Jacksonville, that its population of about 750 was rapidly increasing, and that it had a factory of 120 spindles for making cotton yarn. The pith of this reference is in the fact that the material named was a needed want of the pioneers whose women folks, for the most part, wove the cloths from which the garments of the family were made. The strong cotton thread was for the warp of the hand loom, while the woof of wool was sheared, washed, carded into rolls and spun into yarn at home.

The same year your town, in 1825, was laid out, a bill of General Joseph Duncan's, then a member of the State Senate, was passed, to establish district schools under the direction of a board of trustees, who could levy a tax to support them, if they were first allowed to do so by a two-thirds vote of the electors. The law was not popular, and narrow minded politicians of that day took advantage of the fact to stir such an unsavory foment that the next legislature repealed the law. It is doubtful if the law could have been made effective, because of the scattered stage of our sparse population. The parochial schools of the Jesuit Fathers at Kaskaskia, and the academies of the Franciscan Priests at Cahokia, did a good work in their day and generation. They were typical French. Their people tilled in a common field, and their cottages, grouped about the parish church, gave their population a density from which school children could be readily drawn. And as soon as the people elsewhere over our State filled in more closely, the "three months" primitive schools were opened.

A writer, the Rev. John M. Peck, who traveled over Missouri and Illinois purposely to see and inquire into this subject, well says of those schools that one-third of them were of some utility, another third did as much harm as good, while the remaining third were public nuisances, and decidedly injurious to the children, because of the incompetence and immorality of their itinerant teachers.

Against this dark and forboding background your chairman sees prefigured a glorious promise that has since been fully redeemed. Without going into details, it was the result of two elements moving for the same purpose, though at first in separate and widely distant orbits. The one were residents scattered over Illinois and conscious of the need of education in all the interest of society and good government. The other was a body of theological students at Yale college who had banded their lives in the cause of religion and education in some of the new settlements of the western country. These two elements grew into a common and narrower circle that revolved around "Wilson's Grove" a mile west of Jacksonville. Here on the eastern slope of the knoll and within seven years after Morgan county was organized, "Illinois College" was formally opened.

Its first catalogues impress one with the fact that so many of its regular course students were from the New England states, a proof that its Alumni, like its earlier funds, came largely from abroad. The college had a farm of 300 acres and anticipated, by half a century, the agricultural features, as well as the polytechnic ideas, now so common in the west. Its shop had tools suited for most kinds of work in wood.

The home results soon followed. The Gazetteer man, Mr. Peck, in his volume of 1834 printed here in Jacksonville, though his material was collecting for three or four years before then, says that Morgan is in advance of other counties in all those enterprises that tend to form habits of virtue and to ennoble the mind. It has a vigorous bible society, a Sunday school union with about 70 Sabbath schools, a number of temperance societies of influence in as many neighborhoods, with a like number of common schools that are taught a portion of the year.

Stand at night in the near front of a railroad engine. You see only a little lamp with a circular wick. Go half a mile down the track and its reflected ight glares like a great disk of fire; your speaker has often thought how far

the growing light early set here on College hill has shed its effective rays not only at home but on the great affairs of the State and nation. This tribute is an old thought which your speaker's conscience has not allowed to become outlawed by the lapse of time. And he now avails himself of his first visit among you to give it expression.

Nor in doing so does he forget those other beacons more to the south and west. "Rock Spring Seminary," the first of the kind, began by the Rev. John M. Peck, 1827, later removed to and known as "Alton Seminary." later still, and now, called "Shurtleff College." Nor that of "Lebanon Seminary" revived and efficient as McKendree college. These with yours, Mr. President, have survived the scores of others that fell under the scythe of our public school system. They with yours have kept due on at the front of the grand evolution of Illinois in the cause of a higher and better education.

The Sources and Results of Law in Illinois.

[By Hon. John N. Jewett.]

The law concerns the world, and, therefore, the people of Illinois, and of the northwest; and yet it is a subject, which, both in its history and its consequences, receives but little consideration, except in appointed channels, and, beyond these, as it presents itself in the pathway, along which the individual has chosen to pursue his course. In its all pervading influence, the law is like the air we breathe. It is above, below, and around us. It is as necessary to the continuous enjoyment of our social and civil life, as the atmospheric air is to our physical well being. It is a potential element in every social relation and in every transaction of the business world; it is, or should be, the impartial guardian of the rights and responsibilities, which necessarily grow out of any form of civil organization. It is the touch stone by which individual privileges must be tested, in order that civil liberty may be preserved. The law of Illinois is in a large degree the measure of the rights of its individual citizens.

But, notwithstanding this, by the average man, and from that average downward, the law as a controlling force is but little considered or understood. It is encountered or brought to his personal observation, only as an obstruction to his personal inclinations or ambitions, and as a sort of a bumping post, by which in the course laid out for himself, he has been confronted, about the location of which he may have had some indefinite surmises but he is, nevertheless, genuinely or affectedly surprised that he comes in contact with it, just when and where the contact occurs. It is the air in motion which develops its necessity as well as its power. It is the law in motion, which gives evidence of its strength as well as of its necessity. All men sleep the sleep of forgetfulness, in unconscious reliance upon the continued action of natural laws for the maintenance of life and a safe awakening. Honest men in civil society sleep in unconscious reliance upon the laws which civil society has ordained for their protection, and with a faith amounting to confidence that that protection will be effective. The great human public is like the great unchained ocean, in its tranquilities as well as in its disturbances. It is seldom that the disturbing influences reach far below the surface. But, however, this may be and disregarding what may have been in the past, the civil law, in this age and in this country, must be regarded when it is considered at all, as a necessary means of protection and safety. In its development it has been and is what humanity has made it. It is assumed that all men have a right to security and protection under the law, and the assumption is right within certain limitations; for it should also be assumed that there is no law, deserving of the name, which is not in its consequences a limitation upon the absolute independence of the individual.

The source from which the people of this country acquired the great body of their general law presents no question which is open to dispute. It came to them originally by inheritance, and was made secure to them by express adoption. The British colonists in North America, whether they were classed

as Puritans, Quakers, or Cavaliers, who settled at intervals along the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts bay to Georgia, brought with them as equipment for the founding of civil communities, the common law of England, in the state of completeness to which it had then attained. They claimed and exercised the rights of Englishmen under the English law, as loyal subjects of the Crown, the emblem of British sovereignty. This was their claim when a century and a half later, the controversy arose between them and the home government which resulted in the war of the Revolution and the independence of the colonies. The stamp tax, and the tax on tea, and the more embarrassing navigation laws, some of which had been either repealed or substantially modified and which were the inciting causes for revolt, as they stood in 1775, were not in themselves serious matters of complaint. The people of the United States have, within the last 40 years, yielded almost without a murmur, to governmental exactions much more serious. The truth was that the demands made upon the colonists were in their essence discriminations against them as British subjects, entitled to the protection of British laws equally with other subjects residing within home territory and in the act repealing the stamp act the right to make the discriminations was distinctly asserted, and thereby the future of the colonists was imperilled. When the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and afterwards, when the independence of the colonies, as states, was made secure by treaty, the common law of England, as interpreted and understood by the colonists, remained to them as the substance of the thing, for which the war, finally resulting in independence, had been entered upon. The common law of England, in the fullness of its principles, in the universality of its application, was the inheritance which the colonies demanded and fought for, and this, together with their independence, was secured to them by the results of the war, which we now call the war for independence. This brought to the colonies the benefit and advantage of the labor and experience of a progressive people for more than ten centuries.

But the people of the states, and of the United States, were not content to leave the effective operation of the common law of England to mere conjecture or inference, or to be established through lines of inheritance or descent. The value of the principles of that system of laws was too highly appreciated and too well understood to leave them subject to the changes which might result from acts of mere legislation.

The Constitution of the United States, as it came from the convention of 1787, and was adopted by the people of the states, was thought to be defective, in that it did not contain what is commonly known as a bill of rights, that is, a constitutional recognition of the limitations of the sovereign power and of the rights and liberties of the people, which were a part of the common law of England; and at the first session of Congress after the constitution became operative, twelve amendments were proposed, which were submitted to and immediately ratified by the states and thus became a part of the constitution, and eight of these amendments were in substance and effect, constitutional re-enactments of the principles of the common law of England. Most, if not all of the states, inserted in their constitutions similar provisions, in some cases more extended and comprehensive, but always following along the lines of the common law. This was done in all of the three constitutions under which the government of the State of Illinois has been administered. The effect of this is forcibly expressed by Mr. Justice Miller of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Pumpelly v. Green Bay company (13 Wallace's Reports), when speaking of one of those provisions, contained in the Constitution of Wisconsin, but which, so far as I am advised, is found in the constitutions of all the states, he says: "It would be a very curious and unsatisfactory result, if, in construing a provision of constitutional law, always understood to have been adopted for protection and security to the rights of the individual against the government, and which has received the commendation of jurists, statesmen and commentators, as placing the just principles of the common law on that subject beyond the power of ordinary legislation to change or control, it should be held," etc. * * * "Such a construction would pervert the constitutional provision into a restriction upon the right of the citizen as those rights stood at the common law, instead of

the government, and make it an authority for an invasion of private rights under the pretext of the public good, which had no warrant in the laws or practices of our ancestors."

But this is not all the evidence we have of the estimation in which the principles of the common law of England have been held by the people of the United States, and of their purpose to adhere to and be governed by them. I refer now to statutory adoptions, and simply select Illinois and the other states into which the territory northwest of the Ohio river was divided, as examples.

After the war of the revolution, this territory was claimed by Virginia under its several colonial charters and, especially, the second charter granted by James the First, in 1609. The establishment of that claim was primarily one of the results of the war of the revolution, and, secondarily, the acquiescence of the other states represented in Congress, prior to the adoption of our present national constitution, and whilst the articles of confederation were in force. Whether the claim was originally a valid one, is a matter of no importance today.

The Virginia Charter of 1609 created a corporation with perpetual succession by the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the first Colony of Virginia." As incorporators, it named a large number of British subjects (possibly 500 or more) of all classes, sorts and conditions, from ecclesiastics and noblemen of the highest rank down to common artisans, and more common fish-mongers, and to this list was added, "and to such and so many as they do or shall hereafter admit to be joined with them, in the form hereafter in these presents expressed, whether they go in their persons to be planters there in the said plantation, or whether they go not, but adventure their moneys, goods or chattels."

The grant to the corporation thus formed, was made in these words: "And we do also of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, give, grant and confirm unto the said treasurer and company and their successors, under the reservations, limitations and declarations hereafter expressed, all those lands, countries and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the seacoast to the northward, 200 miles, and from the said Point of Cape Comfort, all along the seacoast to the southward, 200 miles, and all that space and circuit of land lying from the seacoast of the precinct aforesaid up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest; and, also, all the islands lying within 100 miles along the coast of both seas of the precinct aforesaid."

There are many "reservations, limitations and declarations," upon the grant thus made, in the quaint language and in accordance with the grasping colonial theories then prevailing; but the one more especially appropriate here, is that, which, after granting large powers of government over the colony to the home corporation, "and to such governors, officers and ministers as shall be by "our said counsel constituted and appointed," and giving what would seem to be plenary power "to correct, punish, pardon, govern "and rule all such the subjects of us, our heirs and successors as shall from time to time * * * inhabit in the precincts and territories aforesaid, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions and instructions as by our said council, as aforesaid, shall be established," provided, that in default of such orders, ordinances, &c., and in case of necessity, the government of the colony should be "according to the good discretion of said governor and officers, respectively, as well in cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and other; *so always as the said statutes, ordinances and proceedings as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to laws, statutes, government and policy of this our realm of England.*" This last clause rightly interpreted and acted upon, made the common law of England effectively controlling in the administration of the affairs of the colony.

The concluding limitation, in harmony with the spirit of the times, may be quoted as a curiosity as well as an illustration of the prominence of the ec-

clesiastical controversy which was still going on even in England. It says: "And lastly, because the principal effect, which we can desire or expect of this action, is the conversion and reduction of the people of those parts into the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which respect we should be loth that any reason should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to affect the superstitions of the church of Rome, we do hereby declare that it is our will and pleasure, that none be permitted to pass in any voyage from time to time, to be made in said country, but such as first shall have taken the oath of supremacy:" For which purpose, etc.

What trouble the colonists of Virginia had with the corporate body, from the very foundation of the colony, down to the time when the independence of the American colonies was established, and the power of the corporation was abrogated, is related in the history of that period; but it is to be observed as a fact that, except as authority was granted to the home corporation, the laws of the kingdom of Great Britain, in Virginia as well as in all the other colonies, were installed as rules of civil conduct and standards of civil rights amongst the colonists.

The territory ceded by Virginia to the United States in 1784, described as "the territory northwest of the river Ohio," at the time and as a part of Virginia, and so far as in its then condition, it can be said to have been subject to any law, or reached by any government, was under the laws of Virginia origin and growth, and the laws of Virginia were the laws of the British kingdom, with such modifications only as had been made within the powers granted by the charters to the colonial council, and which were generally of a domestic character. But the fact is, that the territory was then a practical wilderness, over which the Indian tribes claimed such jurisdiction and proprietorship as accorded with their nomadic character, and the gratification of their untamed and uncivilized nature. A few French settlements, which marked the meandering progress of the intrepid and adventurous explorers, like Marquette and Joliet, kept their places mainly by methods of conciliation, which were but insecure protections against the wild and irritable dispositions of the Indian tribes, peculiarly restive under the restraints of civil authority, and who were in fact at war with all forms of government, which advanced civilization could recognize or tolerate. The displacement of the habits and customs, the laws and usages of the Indian tribes, such as they were, was an absolute necessity to the expansion and progress of a new nation. If our civilization was better than the one which it encountered in the Indian tribes, and the Indian tribes would not or could not adopt its theories and laws, conflict was inevitable, and the weaker must necessarily be displaced by the stronger.

We may not yield our assent to all the means, either public or private, which were employed in the accomplishment of this inevitable result, but the result itself was as reasonably sure, the day Columbus anchored his caravels in the waters of the western continent, 400 years ago, as it is absolutely certain to-day.

The proprietorship and jurisdiction of the state of Virginia in and over the territory to the north and west of the Ohio river, whatever that proprietorship and jurisdiction may have been, was ceded to the United States in the year 1784, and the first legislation that ever effectively reached that territory and the first effort ever made, in any practical way, to bring the territory under the influence of a general system of law and order was the act of Congress commonly known as "The Ordinance of 1787." This ordinance was the beginning of effective civil government, in the territory described in the title of the act only, as "The Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River." The ordinance provided for the organization of a territorial government, commensurate in its jurisdiction with the boundaries described in the title, the underlying principles of which were derived from the common law of England.

In this brief summary of legal history it is not important to consider, specifically, the provisions of that ordinance, and for the reason that the five states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, as they severally became members of the Federal Union and elements in active combination with

all the forces which go to make up the nationality of the United States of America, through their respective legislative representatives, adopted the theories and principles of the common law of England in all its substantial features. The State of Illinois, admitted into the national unity in the year 1818, signified its submission to and approval of that law by the adoption of it through its legislative represenatives, in qualified but unmistakable language, which has ever been substantially as it appears in the latest revision of its statutory law, which says: "That the common law of England, so far as the same is applicable and of a general nature and all statutes or acts of the British Parliament made in aid of and to supply the defects of the common law, prior to the fourth year of James the First, excepting the second section of the sixth chapter of the 43d Elizabeth and ninth chapter of 37th Henry Eighth, and which are of a general nature, and not local to that kingdom, shall be the rule of decision and shall be considered in full force until repealed by legislative authority."

We are thus confronted, in many ways, with the fact that the common law of England was and is a fundamental part of the system of laws under which our governments, state and national, were established. It constitutes that great mass of underlying rules and regulations which are more important to the welfare of civil society than all the modifications which legislation, pushed into active life by the disorganizing forces of special conditions of limited application, have ever engrafted upon the body of our laws.

Ancient mythology states it as a fact, that Athena sprang from the head of Jove of full physical stature and completely armed and endowed for either active service in war or council in peace. It is unnecessary to say that the common law of England had no such marvelous and instantaneous origin. It was the growth of many centuries—centuries of actual conflicts and contentions, not only between government as such and the people, but also between the people themselves. It was the product of experience and of knowledge derived from experience, and its crowning excellence is, as has been well said of it, that under its provisions "there can be no wrong without a remedy."

How it was reserved to England to establish such a system of laws is much a matter of theory, resting, of course, upon the construction and effect which may be given to events which are now classified as events of ancient history. Some of these may be briefly referred to.

The battle of Marathon, in the year 490 B. C., defeated and partially paralyzed the aggressive purposes of the Persian power, then in control of Western Asia, to extend its dominion westwardly. Whatever its struggles in that direction may have subsequently been, they were effectively ended by the decisive victory of the Grecian forces under Alexander, at Arbela, in the year B. C. 331. Between 490 and 413 B. C., Athens became the seat of the Grecian power. Its ambition led it to undertake the conquest of Syracuse, its western commercial rival, in the latter year, the result of which was the downfall of the Athenean ascendancy. Rome was then in its infancy. It was a growing power, in the beginning of its development; struggling for the place which it subsequently acquired. Founded about 700 years before the Christian era, it was ambitiously climbing upward in the line of material progress and expending all its forces in the direction of a universal Roman empire. So far as its resources would allow, it accomplished its ambitious purposes; but at the expense of a wanton neglect and sacrifice of the moral and social conditions of its people. The twelve ravens that circled around the walls of Rome whilst Romulus was building them, were interpreted as an omen indicating twelve centuries as the limit to the Roman power. The omen and its interpretation may be disregarded; but it can not fail of observation, that about the middle of those 12 centuries, when the Christian era was in its infancy, the Roman Nero represented the Roman power with all the abominations which that name suggests, and that to this result, the habits and customs of the Roman people, neglected and overshadowed by a corrupt and corrupting governmental authority, was at all times a contributing cause. Rome in the beginning of its greatest historical glory, had its Cato and Cicero, whose clients thronged their doors in the early morning. It also had its

Cæsar, its Mark Anthony, its Brutus, its Cataline, and later its Augustus and its Virgil, all of whom were floating on the top of a sea of moral and social corruption, and upon this sea, and without much disturbing it, was planted what was called the temporal and spiritual authority of the church.

But notwithstanding this, Rome extended its power and influence eastwardly over Greece and its dependencies into Western Asia, and westerly to the Atlantic. It subjugated and reorganized what is now known as France and Spain, and made inroads upon the provinces further north, occupied by people of the Germanic race. In this last direction its power was effectively checked by the decisive battle of Armenius against Varus in the ninth year of the Christian era, from the effects of which Rome never recovered; and from that time the Germanic people were left comparatively free from Roman influence and especially in the more northern provinces. Two other events in history deserve a mention in this connection.

During those centuries, distinctively recognized as the dark ages, the overcrowded Aryan people of central Asia, repulsed in their effort for expansion eastwardly were pouring their surplus of barbarians westwardly. The Celtic tribe understood to be of Aryan origin had long before pushed its way into western Europe, and occupied its southwestern territory, and the Island of the Albanian seas. This race or tribe the Roman power within the lines then designated as Gaul, had substantially brought into alliance with itself. But the sources of barbarian invasion had not been exhausted. In their successive waves no heed was given to the fact that one was attempting to supplant all that had gone before it. In the year of the Christiam era 451, Attilla, the leader of the Aryan Huns, then settled on the Danube, with headquarters at Buda (now Buda-Pesth), marshalled his forces for a conquest of western Europe. His army as originally constituted, with accessions from over powered communities encountered in its march, it is said to have amounted to 700,000 men. Every obstruction gave way to or was overcome by Attilla, until he reached the grounds upon which the historic battle of Challons was fought in the year 451. There the forces of the western nationalities, partly under the leadership of Aetius, a Roman, and of Theodoric, a Goth, encountered the forces of Attilla, and Attilla defeated, returned to his former place on the Danube. History is replete with romantic incidents of this last Aryan campaign in western Europe. It is outside of the present purpose to consider them.

One other event may also be referred to. The Mohammedan religion sprang suddenly into an active and aggressive power in the latter part of the seventh century. Like the Roman church, it was on the war path for both temporal and spiritual domination. It pushed its campaign of conquest successfully throughout western Asia and through Egypt and the Barbary states to the Pillars of Hercules, and passing over the narrow straits, conquered and occupied Spain in the year 711. Emboldened by its successes, it gathered together an army for the conquest of Europe, and encountered at Tours its first formidable resistance, in opposing forces, mainly of Germanic origin, under the general command of Charles Martel, a German prince, in the year 732. The defeat of the Moslems in that battle confined their conquests in western Europe to the Spanish peninsula.

This recital of historical events may, perhaps, seem to have but little, if any, relation to the laws of England. Such a conclusion, however, may not be well defended. The battle of Marathon was, in its results, a substantial defeat of the ambitious purposes of the Persian power in European territory. The battle of Arbela broke the Persian power forever and left its shattered remnants to the results of theories of civil and social life, in which its people had been educated. If the battle of Marathon had been determined otherwise than it was, the whole of western Europe would have been exposed to conquest by the Persian power and ambition, with no organized force capable of successful resistance. In the interval between these two battles, Athens had brought into alliance with it substantially all of Greece, and had extended its empire eastwardly and southerly beyond the surrounding seas, and became ambitious of western conquests. The city of Syracuse was its rival in commercial strength and influence. The battle of Syracuse saved southwestern Europe

from Grecian supremacy, whilst it reserved it for Roman conquest a few centuries later. The battle of Challons saved the same territory from a new barbarian invasion, and was as well amongst the expiring efforts of the Roman power in defense of its outlaying provinces; and the battle of Tours effectively thwarted the ambitions of the Saracens and their expulsion from Spain was accomplished near the close of the fifteenth century.

If any one of those historic battles had resulted differently, the whole civil and social condition of western Europe, including the Island of Great Britain, would have probably been compelled to pass through a series of changes in no wise conducive to their governmental or social well being, all of which were averted by the immediate and consequental results of the battles themselves, and, as already stated, the battle of Armenius against Varus effectively loosened the Roman power upon the Germanic provinces.

The earlier in date of these several conflicts for national supremacy occurred before authentic history of the island of Great Britain commences. In the later ones it was not actively concerned, and in comparative peace it reaped the rewards of victories achieved beyond the seas that surrounded it. It may be fair to say that the common law of England never could and never would have started in a community imbued with the principles, theories, manners and customs of either the Persian, Grecian, Roman, Aryan or Mohommedan nationalities. There was lacking in each and all of them those elements of a strong and vigorous individuality, a responsible personal humanity, which are the inspiring elements of the common law of England as it has come down to us.

It may possibly be said by way of objection to this statement, that the island of Great Britain was once counted amongst the Roman provinces, and so far as a limited occupation can justify the application of the term, "Roman Province," to the island which was then called Albania, the objection is well founded. It must be observed, however, that Rome never conquered the island of Great Britain, or established its dominion and sovereignty there in any manner commensurate with or the equivalent of its conquests in the provinces of Gaul and Spain. It is true that about the year 50 of the Christian era a Roman army invaded and occupied by force a considerable part of the island now distinctively known as England, and that they maintained this occupation for about 400 years. The occupation was, however, in every sense of the word, hostile. The island never became, as did the provinces of Gaul and Spain, in any degree Romanized. It apparently had no attractions for the Roman people. Its remoteness and isolation may have been the cause of this neglect, but the fact remains that to the extent of the Roman occupation, the people who were found there were, in the main, simply driven back into the remoter parts of the island. The two peoples did not assimilate or grow together. There was no merging of one in the other, and no community of sentiment or of feeling; no fraternity or good-fellowship, and no unification of language; and when, about the year 450, the Roman legions were withdrawn, not expelled, for service in support of the Roman power, then tottering in the very citadel of its greatest strength. Rome left behind it nothing to mark its occupation except the ruins of its fortified camps and the evidences of devastation incident to an occupation military in its character. The Roman influence took its departure with the flight of the Roman legions, and the old order of things was left to the free exercise of its own powers for its re-establishment. No new customs, methods, usages, laws or language had been imposed upon the inhabitants of the island as a consequence of the Roman occupation.

It was radically different on the other side of what is now known as the Straits of Dover, and taking Spain, then one of Rome's outlying provinces, as an illustration of the effect left by perishing Rome on modern civilization and government, it will be found that in Spain, as well as in Gaul, Roman settlement followed Roman invasion, originally undertaken for purposes of conquest; that the manners, customs and laws of the inhabitants of the province came into amicable relations with those of the invaders, and a mixed society, composite of the two nationalities was the result. This unification is effectively demonstrated by the fact that throughout Gaul, and especially in

Spain, the language of the people became distinctively latinized and has so remained down to the present day and Italy, France and Spain are now the only nations distinctively recognized as belonging to the Latin race. Both France and Spain drank deeply of the fountain of Roman habits, customs, tendencies and laws, at the time of their greatest demoralization. Speaking of Spain as it was in the year 1694, Macauley says: "It is a government which has generally caused more annoyance to its allies than to its enemies." The subject may not be pursued further here than to say that it is a matter of congratulation that Spanish power has taken, or been compelled to take, a final leave of all its American possessions, and yet it may be further remarked that never, in its experience of 400 years upon the American continent, has it left a people capable of organizing or administering a civil government based upon popular representation; of adopting and adhering to any theory of equitable adjustment between governmental rights and powers and the rights and liberties of the governed, or of installing as rules of civil administration the theories and principles embodied in the common law of England.

The period between the first and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era was, on the continent of Europe, a period of formulation and adjustment of governmental authority between the various representatives of physical forces, claiming rights of local sovereignty. The contentions of the period had in the main no better or higher purpose than the vindication of an assumed right to and peremptory demand for the recognition of a territorial domination with the incidental aggrandizements, mainly individual, which would follow from such domination. There were times of comparative quiet, it is true, but they were availed of only for the purpose of preparation for a renewal of the physical contentions for expanded jurisdiction. In these contentions the island of Great Britain, after its abandonment by Rome, had no principal place. Even the valiant northmen, who as free-booters upon the high seas, pushed their aggressive adventures into foreign lands, in search of plunder, which the spirit of the age in some sense legitimized, saw little to tempt their cupidity along the chalky coast of Albania, and sought and found more tempting prizes upon the waters and the shores of the Mediterranean.

For 50 years the island was comparatively neglected by the outside world, and for that period but little is known of its internal history. It may be assumed that it was neither advanced in civilization nor in military strength, and its natural resources were undeveloped. It was awaiting its destiny. Judged of in the light of today, there seems to be no probability that the population of the island, Celtic in its origin, as it then stood, would ever have matured into the present English nationality. It was not left, however, to verify either the justice or the injustice of such a conclusion, for in the early part of the sixth century the Angles, the Jutes and the Saxons of Germany, and from parts of Germany, least affected by the influences of Rome, invaded and occupied the central portions of the island. Whether this invasion, in its original purposes, was for conquest or settlement, is of no present importance, for a settlement in perpetuity was the ultimate result. Nor are we now concerned with the struggles more or less military in their character, which were encountered in the establishment of that settlement. The quality of the people thus introduced into the island as a dominating power, subsequently known as Anglo-Saxons, is, however, pertinent to our present subject.

We may not claim for the founders of the Anglo-Saxon race any large degree of advantage over their Germanic neighbors, or any superior knowledge or appreciation of what are now called the refinements of social life. They belonged in the sixth century to a bold, rugged, and somewhat restless nationality, struggling with the difficulties and misfortunes of the age in which they lived; but, in large measure, exempt from the corrupting influences which had fastened themselves upon and given character to the people of southern Europe.

It is said that the German race of that period were, however, especially characterized by their love of personal independence, their strict observance of and fidelity to individual obligations, and their high regard for the sanctity of the domestic relations and the purity of women; qualities which were con-

spicuous for their absence in the general character of the people who had drawn their inspirations, their manners and customs, as well as their laws, from the overflowing fountain of Roman corruption. But the common law of England, as a body of laws, could not, certainly it did not, take root on German soil; and if it may not be assumed that the Anglo-Saxon settlers in the island of Great Britain differed essentially from the great body of their countrymen, still their isolation was a practical severance from the disturbing influence, which, for succeeding centuries, kept the Germanic states constantly employed in a struggle for the preservation of their nationality. The intervals of peace were of short duration and were utilized more for the purpose of repairing exhausted finances and broken-down military defenses than in the work of readjusting their civil and domestic customs and laws upon a better and more progressive basis. It is true that England, as an ally, assisted and took a conspicuous part in many of the continental disturbances, and was a most effective aid to the final success of the German cause; for it was not until the battle of Blenheim, during the reign of Queen Anne, 1703, that the combined armies of England and Germany, under the leadership of the Duke of Marlborough, achieved a victory so decisive that the invading power of France was so severely crippled that it was finally and within a few more years compelled to abandon its ambitious efforts for conquest, and signed a treaty of peace which, for many years, remained unbroken.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the island of Great Britain was entirely free from the political and governmental disturbances which marked the period between the 6th and 18th centuries. There were two invasions by the Danes, in the 9th and 10th centuries, which, however, they may have temporarily disturbed the surface of governmental authority, made no serious impression upon the under-current of principles out of which the theories of the common law were evolved. Moreover, the Danes were a section of the Germanic race.

The Norman conquest of the year 1066 resulted in no permanent disturbance of the general tendency towards better conditions of social and civil life which the Anglo-Saxons in England had inaugurated. It may be admitted that the immediate result was, to some extent, a redistribution of the landed wealth of the territory, a strengthening of the theory of feudal tenures, and many cases of individual calamities. There was, however, in the outcome of this conquest one consequence of immediate advantage to England. It put an end to the protracted disputes between the rulers of the petty kingdoms into which England had been divided, and made of England one nation, under a common leadership. But we may not leave the subject here. The Normans were Northmen of Germanic origin. Many years before they had invaded and conquered the province of Normandy, and fraternizing and commingling with the people found there had established an almost independent governmental power, which in its theories and operation was largely drawn from Germanic sources.

The Normans in England were, for a time, haughty, aggressive and insolent, as became the spirit and temper of the times. Crusades and the personal ambitions of knight errantry were the characteristics of the age, from the influence of which the island of Great Britain was not exempt; but in the midst of these disturbing influences the first book on the law of England was prepared and published by Glanvil about the year 1160.

A second treatise on the law of England was given to the public about a century later by Bracton. The publication of these books is so remote in date that even the names of the authors are in doubt amongst the critical inquirers into the minute facts of legal history. Such inquiries are of no practical advantage, however they may result, and may be left to the delving proclivities of the professional antiquary. In the matter of law books, however, it is easy to contrast those times with the present, when 50,000 volumes will hardly answer the requirements of a complete law library published in the Anglo-Saxon language and actively pressed as the necessary stock in trade of the practicing lawyer, and what is worse than that, recognized as influential in the administration of the law. Bookism is supplanting independent thought, and of personal judgment it may be said, "Thou hast fled to brutish beasts and men have lost their reason."

But whilst the Norman conquest of England seemed to be physically and governmentally complete in the year 1066, there was no settled or willing acquiescence on the part of the conquered. For many years the representatives of the two nationalities stood together only upon terms of mutual defiance. If the Normans were arrogant, aggressive and insolent, the Anglo-Saxons were sullen, resentful and tenacious of their individual rights and privileges. The struggle between the two peoples was not ended by the battle of Hastings, but subsequently entered upon that broader field of competition which more essentially concerned the civil and social well-being of a people, compelled by the results of military success to live together within limited boundaries. Coalition, an absolute assimilation of the two nationalities, became a necessity of their enforced contact with each other; and under the conditions then existing the stronger and the better theories of government and of civil life had at least a chance of success. As the outcome of this contention and of an enforced intercourse came the English language. Anglo-Saxon in its derivation and a bond of union all-pervading in its influence; for a community of language is a necessity of complete national unity.

The Normans in England during the first century of their domination, instigated, doubtless, by a common recognition of the universal authority claimed by the Roman Hierarchy, endeavered to force upon the people of England, in all governmental circles the Latin language, and failing in this, assumed to adopt their Norman French as the language of the law and of courtesy, which was equally a failure. The force of the Anglo-Saxon tendencies was too great to be resisted in each of these directions, and the Anglo-Saxon language, which, with its enlargements and improvements is the English language of today, was the result.

The Norman success of 1066 was thus turned into an Anglo-Saxon victory; for a common language is one, at least, of the most effective means of breaking down distinctive nationalties within specified and limited boundaries; and I will break the continuity of this address for the purpose of saying, that the man who advocates the teaching of a foreign language in the public schools of this country, supported, as they are, at the public expense, is either forgetful of his obligations as an American citizen or is a traitor to the best interests of the community in which he resides. There is no necessity for nor is there safety in the use of any language except the national one in the intercourse between people, who, in fact, desire to become members of a distinct nationality. No man who will not surrender his attachment to the common forms and usages of the place of his ancestry ought to be admitted to citizenship in the United States of America. Citizenship should be held to include an adoption of the national language, which, in this country is distinctively English, and the underlying principles of our national habits, customs, usages, manners and laws, are of Anglo-Saxon or English origin. A complete and exclusive American nationality should be a *sine qua non* of citizenship. All instruction at the public expense should run in this direction.

Outside nationalities had no part of the framing of the common law of England. It was a code of domestic growth. It developed gradually, sometimes fitfully and in spite of the opposing influences surrounding it, both at home and abroad. In its earliest days the people were living and continued to live in communities. Personal contract with others was a recognized necessity. It was unavoidable, not only as the prompting of a natural instinct towards sociability, but also as the only means by which business between the members of the community could be transacted and exchanges of property interests could be effected. Slowly, and as the social and business relations were enlarged, usages and customs controlling in respect to them, were established, and became the settled rules and regulations by which the members of the community acknowledged themselves to be bound, in their social and business intercourse. It must not be overlooked that, in these early ages, the present conveniences for preserving and circulating information did not exist. Few people could write even, and the art of printing was unknown. The rules and regulations adopted and observed in the intercourse of the people with each other were matters of memory or of tradition, and because of this, the common law of England has been called the unwritten law, a

name which it has retained down to the present day, notwithstanding the fact that many of its maxims and theories have been embodied in statutes, and all of them possibly are preserved and defended in the numerous printed opinions of courts and the text-books and digests, compiled with much diligence and, sometimes, with great intelligence, for ambitious publishers of the law. When courts were established and became the tribunals by which controversies between the members of a community should be adjusted and their rights impartially determined, the rules and regulations of the community were availed of by the judges as the rules and regulations controlling in the settlement of the matters of dispute, and it is but little more than 100 years ago, as is shown in the reports of decided cases, that the judges of England, in matters upon which they were not sufficiently advised, personally consulted, outside of court, with men of business, in whose judgment and knowledge they had confidence, as to the existence and character of the customs and usages, generally prevailing and acted upon, in transactions like the one which was before the court for investigation and decision. If careful in the selection of their advisers, possibly, judges of the present day could profit by a similar practice.

In the way indicated in this brief recital, the common law of England gradually grew to be an all pervading force, as well as a standard of right, available for the adjustment of differences between the members of the civil community, embracing all classes and conditions from the highest to the lowest. Gradually it modified and changed the relations existing between the different classes, into which the subjects of the crown were divided under the theories and operation of the fuedal laws; for the principle of the common law was that the individual should have and be at liberty to exercise so much personal freedom as was consistent with the general welfare. This doctrine ultimately antagonized the arbitrary power and absolute sovereignty of the king, and in the year 1215 the barons and principal subjects of England, at Runnymede demanded and secured in the interest of themselves and of the people, from the despotic but weak, vacillating and cowardly King John, a formal relinquishment of many of the arbitrary powers theretofore claimed as the legitimate inheritance of the reigning sovereign, and which were embodied in the concessions from the crown as the representative of the sovereign power, in that famous document everywhere known as *Magna Charta*, and sometimes called the charter of British liberties. Afterwards, and as late as the reign of William and Mary, further concessions were demanded and secured by the acts known as the "Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights," and thus the essential liberties of the subject were still further protected and secured against the arbitrary action of the British crown. These various concessions have been counted as amongst the triumphs of the common law, and they stand today as assurances to the British people, that the just principles of the common law will not be disregarded. It is a singular fact which may be mentioned to the credit of the British nation, that although the parliament of Great Britain, as a legislative body, has power to modify or repeal each and all of the several concessions referred to, as well as all other theories and principles of the common law, yet these concessions, theories and principles stand today unimpaired by legislation, and the common law of England is still the rule of decision in its courts. It is this common law, which recognizes both governmental and personal rights, which aims to establish and maintain a just relation between the essential powers of government and the essential rights and liberties of the people, and which in its principles and theories, as a rule of decision and administration, underlies as a foundation, the expanded power of the government of Great Britain, and by affirmative recognition and adoption, through constitutions and legislative enactments, the government of the United States, that legislatures and courts are confronted with when they or either of them undertake to deal with matters of purely private concern, or which open up the broader question of possible antagonism between the essential rights and powers of government and the essential rights and liberties of individual citizens.

There are and should be some axiomatic propositions upon which all sensible reasoning must proceed. Contested premises leave everything afloat. It may be said, without claiming the enumeration to be exhaustive, that the common law of England rests upon these propositions:

1st. That a condition of intercourse and association is a natural and necessary condition of the human race.

2d. A condition of intercourse and association is absolutely inconsistent with complete personal independence.

3d. Rules and regulations which we call laws, controlling in all matters of personal intercourse and association, are necessary in associated living.

4th. Government, as a disinterested instrumentality, is a necessity for the determination of all questions of disputed right between its citizens or subjects, and to this extent must be supreme, in order that public tranquillity may be preserved; and that for the accomplishment of this result, governments, as such, must be possessed of absolute powers of administration to be intelligently and effectively exercised for the general welfare.

In this statement internal administration only is included, where the rights of government and the rights of citizens as individuals are alone involved.

Under our complex system of government, the states, as such, are not directly charged with any responsibility for the outcome of national politics. Their only responsibility in that regard hinges upon the character of the men elected under their authority as representatives in the general council of the nation. In its subordinate position, the state is supreme. In that subordinate position, with reference to the United States, the State of Illinois has adopted the common law of England, in all its applicable provisions, as furnishing rules for decision in all matters of controverted right.

In this country, and therefore in Illinois and all the other states created out of the territory "northwest of the River Ohio," the people are protected against the consequences of hasty and partisan legislation by the incorporation into their several constitutions of some of the most important principles of the common law, which, in the language of Justice Miller, already quoted, places them "beyond the power of ordinary legislation to change or control," and by this fact the appropriate line of legislation must be in the direction of and not in opposition to the principles of domestic government which have received (again using Justice Miller's language) "the commendation of jurists, statesmen and commentators, and more than this, are the outgrowth of more than a thousand years of actual experience in the adjustment of conflicting rights and interests."

The common law concedes a governmental power. As adopted in this country and in the State of Illinois, it does not concede a governmental despotism, for legislative authority is limited by constitutional provisions. But notwithstanding this, much is left to legislative discretion and to judicial interpretation, the contention everywhere is what are the essential rights and powers of government, and what are the essential rights and liberties of the individual citizen. I use the word "individual" intentionally, and because in the exercise of its appropriate functions the acts of government are personal in their application, and if the individual is protected in his rights and privileges the community is safe.

On an occasion somewhat public in its character, and speaking from the bench, without the responsibilities of the judicial office as an obstruction to his private judgment, a learned, respected and somewhat independent judge, recently said, by way of excuse for a free expression of his views upon a pending question of legislative authority, that in his place as a judge he had few opportunities for an expression of his views upon such questions, and that he was disposed to take advantage of the opportunity then presented. I am disposed to shelter myself behind a similar apology, when I say that the Legislature of Illinois has not always followed along the lines of the common law, and its departures therefrom have been unfortunate to the citizens of the State. The tendency of any power is towards its own aggrandizement. The petty official, without sense enough to know better, attempts a lordly

bearing illy befitting his position. In the higher ranks of governmental life it seems to be assumed that unlimited powers of encouragement or obstruction are committed to a representative authority which may be exercised without much personal responsibility, in accordance with an assumed public sentiment or a private estimate of personal popularity to be derived therefrom. The lines of good sense and good reasoning are abandoned by such an assumption, and the rights and interests of the citizen, as well as the public, are left in the background. Indeed, it oftentimes seems apparent that such rights and interests are the last matters to be understood or considered.

A popular writer and student of history has said, that "In all ages, the world's greatest want has been men." What will the future say of the examples of manhood, who have for the past three-quarters of a century been making and are now making the legislative history of Illinois? It is said that Draco wrote his laws in small letters, and posted them in conspicuous places, but so high above the heads of the people that it was impossible to read them. Our legislators have a different way of accomplishing the same result, mainly, it is presumed, from lack of understanding, for they often so misuse or abuse the English language in the framing of our laws, that they are incapable of direct interpretation and the courts must give them a construction before the people feel themselves safe in acting upon them.

Sixty-five years ago the legislators of Illinois conceived the idea that the State should construct, own and operate a comprehensive system of internal improvements in the form of railroads and canals, and in pursuance of the plan devised and undertaken, the State was within the next ten years reduced to absolute bankruptcy, its credit destroyed, and the industries of the people were in a state of financial paralysis. Some miles of embankment and some partial excavations along proposed lines of canals were all the State had to show for some 15 millions of State indebtedness and ruined credit, and yet today, thoughtless men and venal politicians are clamoring for State ownership of what they call public utilities, or, what is probably worse, but in the same line, for municipal ownership and municipal operation of such utilities within municipal boundaries, wholly oblivious to the plain teachings of the past or of the impossibility, under existing conditions, of an honest, economical or intelligent management of such utilities through the political agencies which would be put in control of them.

Today numerous voluntary organizations, especially in the cities of the State, are actually enlisted in the herculean task of trying to purge the Augean stables of corrupt administrations. Such associations grow out of and are fostered by a deep-seated distrust of the ability and integrity of the representatives whom the people elect to guard and protect the rights and interests of the public and of the individual citizen. In their reports they give glowing accounts of the numbers of officials they have excluded from office, either by convicting them of official crimes and misdemeanors or by defeating them at public elections, or of the reformations they have brought about in the framework and substance of the law, all of which points in the direction of rottenness at the foundation of our domestic government and a condemnation of the methods and men combined to control the results of popular elections. Whether there will ever be an end of this demoralized condition of governmental administration, short of absolute revolution, is a matter which the future only can determine. In a recent address delivered before a college society at Middlebury, Vermont, I find this: "If the iron and steel business of North America can be conducted by one corporation under the leadership of a single man, * * * why can not the State be the one great corporation, and do it all? If a few of the members of the State can successfully exploit all the industries of the State and furnish employment to most of its citizens, why should not the State itself exploit its own industries and furnish employment to all its citizens?"

To the man who stands outside of all combinations both in business and in politics, and who has had and profited by a reasonable amount of experience and observation of the methods and measures adopted and prosecuted in private enterprises, and fairly compared them with the methods and measures

employed in the carrying out of enterprises undertaken by the public authorities, the answer to the inquiries propounded by the college orator is readily suggested.

The State can not successfully undertake the responsibilities referred to, because it does not have, and under the existing order of things it never will have, Morgans or Vanderbilts or Rockefellers, or the equivalent of them, to manage its business affairs. In addition to this we in Illinois have a constitution originally conceived and adopted in distrust of the honesty and capacity of public authorities, and which by successive amendments has become a *facsimile* of the crazy quilts which our grandmothers delighted in. And there is not sense enough in the electors of the State, directed as they are and allow themselves to be, by the scheming politicians who tickle their fancy and deceive their simplicity of understanding, to break the spell which hangs over the rights and interests of the State.

It may be supposed that there is a future answer to this in the demand for education of the masses of the people at the public expense, and there is a semblance of reason in this; but it is not true that mere intellectual education will remedy the difficulty. Such education simply develops and sharpens the individual tendencies, and moral training is excluded from our public schools. All the fighting propensities of religious sectarianism are united to push out of public schools the basis of all moral instruction. The moral and intellectual elements of manhood must grow together, or a dwarfed and one sided growth is the inevitable result. It is the symmetrical man that is needed and is wanting, and this is the man referred to in the quotation already made, that "in all ages the world's greatest want has been men." Mere education, as such, is not a positive good to the state or the individual. The right education, which is supported at the public expense, is well defined by a distinguished educator, as that education which makes a good citizen. There is no easy or royal road to such an education. The modern faddist skips the necessity for the exercise of that faculty of the human species, viz.: a capacity for actual labor, through which only can real progress be made. It is work and not pleasure that opens up the capacities of the human understanding, and a capacity for work is the test of individual possibilities. Too much importance is given to the glittering generality embraced in the colonial declaration of independence, that "all men are created equal." The very effort which has been made to explain and qualify it, is conclusive evidence of the fact that it was not true in any broad or general sense. Today it is converted into a political shibboleth and used by politicians as a flattering stimulus to the vanity of a public assembly and to secure personal sympathy and support.

I venture the assertion, although it may be classed as a heresy, that the effort to convert public schools into universities, or make of them university feeders, is a perversion of the economic principles upon which public schools were originally founded, leading directly to extravagance and waste of public moneys, and tending towards a complete demoralization of the necessary forces of social order. The result apparently sought for is unattainable. The school laws of Illinois are doubtless greatly abused in the administration; but they have been framed in such a way that the abuse is easy of accomplishment and a thorough revision of them is a matter of first importance, in order that the abuses may be prevented and our public education turned in its appropriate direction, viz.: to the making of good citizens.

But if the school laws of Illinois and their administration are open to criticism, much more and in an equally important sense, is its general revenue law and the manipulation of it.

The taxing power, under our form of government, where no allotment of public domain and public rights is made for the appropriate support of governmental representatives is a necessary but exceedingly aggressive power. It is a power which may be most effectively abused under the officeholder's plea of the general welfare, whilst he distributes the results of his exactions in lazy indifference to the just requirements of the public service. The legislators of Illinois have exhibited no evidence of skill or knowledge in the

framing of the general revenue laws of the State; nor have the contributions thereto submitted and adopted through the influence of Taxpayers' associations simplified or corrected the complexity and confusion of those laws. The records of the courts show that the whole system, if there is any system, is vicious, and the complaints of the public would seem to indicate that the administration of it is justly chargeable with gross abuses. The machinery set in motion by it, is complicated and expensive. Revision and pruning intelligently done might do it good, but a better remedy would be absolute reconstruction.

If the question of school and revenue laws and the administration of them were more pertinent to the present occasion than they now seem to be, time would not allow of a fuller explanation and there are other subjects to which I wish briefly to refer.

We live in an era full of adventure and enterprise, and overflowing with force and energy, which are controlling the theories, as well as the accomplishments of the past. The intelligent world is on the tiptoe of expectation and looking forward with an anxious gaze towards and with an apparent confidence in the developments of the future. It ought not to be overlooked that although nations and states and the public generally may and must share in the advantages of such development, assuming that they will be in the line of general progress, still it will be, as it has heretofore been, the forceful, earnest and exceptional capacity of individual men through whom these expectations will be realized. Government and law may encourage, but they will not do the work. The great mass of the people must remain as silent observers and beneficiaries. It is the law of necessity which fixes these relations. The elevation of the masses of any people, left to themselves, must be of gradual accomplishment and as a result of a better understanding of their domestic, social and physical conditions, drawn from contact and association and the establishment of rules and regulations essential to the peaceful continuation of such personal contact and association; and it is in this way and for this purpose that the common law of England grew up and became a controlling power, essential parts of which have been grafted into our fundamental law. We can not afford to disregard this experience or the result of it. There is no advantage to be gained by repeating it. The man is a fool who insists upon going through a fire a second time in order to be convinced of its decomposing tendencies. It is a wise man who will accept the experience of others and forego the first experiment in his own person. The common law embodies the best results of human experience, and if law, as it has sometimes been defined, is "the perfection of human reason," then the common law, as the result of more than 1,000 years of human experience under conditions of growth the most favorable which the world presented, should be accepted as the best attainable result of human reason, and legislatures and courts should be cautious even to timidity in their encouragement of any tendency towards a change of its principles and its teachings.

There are two elements of power classified as governmental powers, which are pushing their way into general recognition at the present time, and sometimes effusively, mainly through the courts, but partially through legislatures. They bear the apparently innocent names of the police power and public policy. It may be admitted that they are both essential elements of good government, and so far as rightly and discriminatingly employed are available for the promotion of the well-being of society.

The police power is distinctly a governmental power. It is called an inherent power; that is, it belongs to government as such, without regard to the kind or quality of the government itself, and in this accepted view of it, it is in its exercise a constant factor, antagonizing individual rights and liberties, and the only limitation upon its exercise is that it shall not deprive the individual of the rights and liberties secured to him by constitutional provisions. It is not difficult to see how the marginal line may be moved backward or forward according to the prejudice or caprice of the governmental administrator of the power, and thus constitutional lines and the lines of the police power are in a condition of constant antagonism and individual rights hang upon the result of the contention in each particular case, and in

every case the location of that line is the exercise of a governmental function. The Supreme Court of Illinois has said that "The exercise of this power may be referred to the maxim, '*salus populi suprema est lex.*' How broadly this maxim covers the rights and liberties of individuals is absolutely an unsettled question. How it may be indefinitely expanded to the prejudice of individual rights by careless administration is apparent. There are numerous definitions of the police power contained in the books, purporting to be exponents of the law, and it is sometimes said that another maxim of the law '*sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas,*' is its proper foundation and so the origin and the scope of the power is bandied about, without settled definition or application. It is today and in Illinois a floating menacing power, as is every power of government which has no defined limitations, and it is especially menacing in a governmental sense because of its appropriate application to the rights and liberties of the individual citizen. Do not misunderstand me. The police power is a necessary governmental power. It is in the application of it that the danger lies, and the danger in this respect is due to the fact that the limitations of it have not yet been authoritatively defined and some of the highest courts of our country have expressly declined to give to it any definite boundaries. The mere fact that it is an inherent governmental power, and aggressive in all its tendencies and is without defined limitations, is sufficient to mark it as a power capable of great and lasting injustice to the individual rights and liberties of the citizen. How and when and where the inquisitorial commands of such a power may be put in operation cannot be foreseen. In this respect the guardianship of individual rights is with the courts and upon them rests the ultimate responsibility.

The words "Public Policy," so common in use today, are also words without definite meaning or application. They signify a doctrine or a theory, rather than an active power; but however they may be interpreted or the thing they represent be classified, they are frequently, interpreted in judicial decisions as a bar to individual rights and interests and in cases where the public is not concerned in any legitimate way. The trouble with the doctrine, or at least one of its troubles, and this is a sufficient cause for a limited use of it as an active governmental force, is, that it is a convenient shield behind which to cover up a prejudice or an imperfection of understanding. It was once said of it that the measure of the influence of the doctrine depended upon the length of the chancellor's foot, but a better definition is found in a reported case in which, although somewhat grotesquely presented, there is still shown the actual features of the doctrine of public policy, and its capacities for manipulation.

The immediate subject under consideration was contracts in restraint of trade and the court said: "All the authorities, from first to last, concur in one thing, viz.: that the doctrine on this subject is founded on 'Public Policy' and I cannot but regard the jarring opinions as exemplifying the doctrine of Mr. Justice Burrough in Richardson *vs.* Mellish, 2 Bing., 229. * * * 'That public policy is a very unruly horse and when once you get astride of it you never know where it will carry you.' Public policy does not admit of definition and is not easily explained."

The subject touches rights and liberties which are private and personal in their nature and therefore constitutionally fundamental in our governmental organizations, as well as the rights and powers of government itself. If there is any tangible foundation for the doctrine of public policy in this country, it must be found in legislation, which is the only constitutional method of expressing the public sentiment. It is the duty of courts to expound and apply the law as it is, and not to speculate upon an inventory of what the law ought to be, or what it would be if the judge could make it. They have no authority or right to originate or manufacture a theory of public policy. Each of the three departments of government must be confined in its action to the subjects within its jurisdiction. The function of creating rules and regulations, or of making laws is not a judicial function, certainly not under our constitution, and to ride a wild horse, as the doctrine of public policy is, too freely, is not an exploit creditable to the judicial office.

There are many suggestions I would like to make, and many illustrations within my own observation which I could give, in connection with this statement, if time would permit. But there is one burning, irritating and disturbing subject partizanly and viciously affecting both public and individual interests today, which no man, absolutely disinterested in the direct results, can overlook. The subject referred to is practically covered by two loose and unmeasured propositions which have acquired the reputation of "Ancient Sayings" and are without much definiteness of origin or meaning. "The Law abhors Monopolies" and "Competition is the Life of Trade." These two sayings are running a riotous course today through the legitimate industries of the nation, the legislation by representatives of the people and the decisions of the courts. They furnish a keynote for aspiring politicians, and a theme for the reckless but obtrusive scribbler for the public press, who gathers his inspiration from such fountains of information as best suit his convenience or his Bohemian tastes, and whose principal purpose it is to create a sensation. Is it too late to expect from all or any of these diversified sources of what is called public education, a sensible amount of reactionary influence? It is by no means generally true that the law abhors monopolies or that they antagonize the public interest, nor is it universally true that competition is the life of trade. And another self-evident fact, but seldom considered, is, that the tendency of active competition is towards monopoly, since the ultimate consequence of it is to compel the withdrawal of the weaker party from the contested field, leaving the stronger alone in possession and a monopolist in fact. In many things the laws favor monopolies by creating them, and combinations of interests are encouraged by the adoption of laws authorizing their formation, all of which are assumed to be, and many of them in fact are, for the public good as well as conducive to private advantage; and recently a venerable judge, with more courage than some of his associates, has stated from the bench that the laws of Illinois indicate a public policy favorable to combinations of capital, although their tendency may be in the direction of Monopoly. It would be bad policy to condemn or refuse a right for the reason that it is capable of being abused. But little of life or liberty or property would be left to the citizen if governments should act upon such a theory of suppression.

Guizot, one of the most distinguished French historians and writers, in his history of representative government, gives this summary of the various steps involved in its establishments:

"Liberties are nothing until they have become rights, positive rights, formally recognized and consecrated; rights, even when recognized are nothing, so long as they are not entrenched within guarantees, and lastly guarantees are nothing so long as they are not maintained by forces, independent of them, in the limit of their rights. Convert liberties into rights, surround rights by guarantees, entrust the keeping of those guarantees to forces capable of maintaining them—such are the successive steps in the progress towards a free government."

"This progress was actually realized in England. Liberties first converted themselves into rights; when rights were nearly recognized, guarantees were sought for them; and lastly these guarantees were placed in the hands of regular powers. In this way a representative system of government was formed."

The people of the United States were not called upon in the establishment of their governments to pass through the successive stages of evolution so tersely and graphically described by Guizot. They built upon the experience and the knowledge resulting from experience, of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The superstructure they have raised is a magnificent one and its strength and durability may not be questioned so long as it rests upon the foundation originally adopted. There is danger in any attempt to undermine or change that foundation as well as in building overhanging additions on any side of it. The foundation is broad enough and strong enough to support a structure of indefinite extent so long as it conforms to original lines and is enlarged symmetrically. There are two elements at least which must be maintained in approximate equilibrium in order that the governmental structure may be

preserved, viz.: The essential rights and powers of government and the essential rights and liberties of the people. These two elements in a nation or state are and necessarily will be more or less antagonistic. Absolute affiliation between them may be impossible. If government fails liberty is converted into license; if liberties fail government becomes a despotism. Our governments are representative governments which in their nature are as far removed from democracies as they are from depotisms. Elections determine who shall be rulers and shall exercise the essential powers of government. Men filling such places should exercise those powers discreetly, honestly, intelligently and independently, and the people should expect and demand this: An official place is no place for partizanship or the intrigues of politics. The great and positive want is today, as it always has been, men. The common politician in Illinois disgraces himself by calling himself a servant and the people respect him accordingly. The people should understand that they elect rulers and it is possible that if they could be made to appreciate this, selections, in some cases at least, might be made upon a higher and better basis.

The Organization and History of Illinois College.

[A Tribute to the Memory of Rev. John M. Ellis. By Edward P. Kirby.]

When I weakly accepted the flattering invitation of your secretary to read a paper before this society at its present meeting, upon any subject relating to the early history of Illinois that I might select, I had in mind to prepare a paper on the early legislation of the State of Illinois, to ascertain, as far as might be, the names of those who had been especially instrumental in proposing and securing the adoption of the early statutes of the State, their personal history, character, acquirements, etc.

I doubted, however, whether I should be able to secure the data necessary for such a paper within the limited time before this meeting, and when your secretary called upon me for the title of my paper, that he might insert it in his printed program of exercises, the doubt had become a certainty; I knew that I should be unable to carry my purpose into effect. yet I had not thought of another suitable subject, and I could only say to him, I will certainly try to prepare something—put me down somewhere on your program for a paper, without indicating its subject.

I must say, however, that I was greatly surprised, upon receiving a copy of your program, to find that I was first on the list, and expected to provide for your entertainment anything that could be entitled to the title of an address. But I was also greatly pleased that I had not carried out my original intention, when I saw that all I had hoped to learn and report to you would be better said by your president in his annual address this evening and by Judge Cunningham to-morrow.

Your printed program also gave me a hint for a new subject. McKendree college and Illinois college are always associated in my mind, because both were incorporated under the same act of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois. and as the program showed that the subject of your next speaker is McKendree college, I was reminded by his theme that I had, stored away somewhere, a copy of a long and interesting manuscript written by the Rev. Thomas Lippincott many years ago, detailing many events that properly pertain to the early history of Illinois college, or rather a very interesting narration of movements which led up to the organization of Illinois college, and an account of the men connected therewith, which, so far as I know, have never been published or generally made public, and I thought I might condense his account sufficiently to bring it within your 30-minute rule, and yet make you acquainted with its principal features.

The account begins with the autumn, in the year 1825. At that time Illinois was nearly eight years old as a State, having been admitted to statehood Dec. 3, 1818. The enabling act of Congress required that the State should

have a population of 40,000, and when it began to be doubtful whether the requisite number would be found on the census rolls, the deputy marshals were stationed along the principal roads, and everybody that passed through each county was counted, whether citizen, immigrant, traveler, explorer or mover on his way through the State to Missouri. The returns were made to foot up the requisite number of 40,000, but, as subsequently corrected, the population numbered only 34,620.

I have heard of the colored gentleman who explained his success in procuring chickens, by saying that he "cotched 'em both a-comin' and a-gwine." The census enumerators of 1818 learned to improve upon his very successful method.

At the taking of the next census, 12 years later, in 1830, the population of the State had increased to 157,445, so that I think that we may safely assume that in 1825 the entire population of the State did not exceed 100,000. Prior to the year 1825, but one county had been established north of the present line of the Wabash railroad, the county of Fulton, Feb. 14, 1821 and along the line of said railroad but three counties had been established, Sangamon, Pike and Morgan; the first two in 1821, the last in 1823. During the said year of 1825, nine other counties lying along, and north of said line, were established by acts of the Legislature, viz.: Adams, Hancock, Henry, Knox, Mercer, Peoria, Putnam, Schuyler and Warren. No separate enumeration of the population of any of the above named counties seems to have been made until 1830, when the total population of said 12 counties was only 38,877, Mercer county having the smallest number, 26, and Sangamon county the largest, 12,960. In 1825, five years earlier, the population must have been very small. These same 12 counties now have a population of 475,719. The State capital was located at Vandalia, a small village of a few hundred people. Jacksonville had just been laid out and made the county seat of Morgan county, which then comprised all the territory included in the present three counties of Morgan, Cass and Scott, and yet had only a few thousand inhabitants. These well-known data and figures are given as a concise method of showing the new unorganized, undeveloped pioneer condition of the country when the movements for educational improvement, hereinafter mentioned, were begun.

Rev. John M. Ellis, a graduate of Andover Theological Seminary, was commissioned by the American Home Missionary society to labor among the feeble Presbyterian churches of the west. He began his work in Illinois in the fall of 1825. He found but three Presbyterian ministers in the State, viz.: Rev. John Brich, in Jacksonville, a member of the Presbytery of Missouri; Rev. Stephen Bliss, in Wabash county, a member of the Presbytery in Indiana, and Rev. John Spellman, of Gallatin county, a member of the Presbytery of Kentucky. After having made a tour of most of the counties, in what we now call "Southern Illinois," he became a resident of Kaskaskia, the former territorial capital, and until 1821, the State capital, and then the principal city of the State.

Among the feeble churches to which Mr. Ellis was called to minister, was one which had been organized at Shoal Creek, in Bond county, March 19, 1819, by Rev. Salmon Giddings, pastor of a Presbyterian church in St. Louis. This, I believe, was the first Presbyterian church formed in Illinois.

In the midst of all his earnest labors as a minister, Mr. Ellis seems to have been not less active and zealous in his efforts to awaken an interest in the cause of education, and to enlist active support in some plan for the erection of a seminary of learning. His zeal for education seems to have been stimulated by the fact that at one of the meetings at Shoal Creek, several young men, who were anxious to obtain an education, having the ministry in view, could find no institution within reach, and sought his advice and assistance in the matter:

In the "Kaskaskia Reporter" of Jan. 3, 1827, there had been published the following:

PLAN OF A SEMINARY OF LEARNING IN ILLINOIS.

Article 1—The establishment shall be such as to admit the payment of board in produce.

Article 2—Connected with the institution shall be a plantation and kitchen garden in order to unite utility with exercise, for the preservation of health.

Article 3—In this plantation shall be cultivated, besides the common articles of consumption, cotton, tobacco, hemp, fruit trees, and as soon as possible, silk and the vine.

Article 4—In addition to this each scholar shall be entitled to a suitable patch of ground to be entirely under his own management and its avails to be at his own disposal.

Article 5—A savings bank shall be put in operation as soon as required so as to give the best encouragement to the spirit of industry.

AN OUTLINE OF THE COURSE OF STUDIES.

Article 1—All of those English studies which are requisite to furnish qualifications for all the duties and business of common life, whether as common citizens or magistrates (such as reading, writing, geography, grammar and common arithmetic).

Article 2—Natural philosophy, natural history, chemistry, higher branches of mathematics, geometry, rhetoric, composition, history, moral and intellectual philosophy, political economy.

Article 3—Attend lectures on some or all of these branches, and also on the application of the sciences to the arts, the object being to make the education not only theoretical but practical.

Article 4—Classical studies, rising from year to year, as the wants of the country require, to be advanced as rapidly as possible to an university.

Article 5—A department for the instruction of female students, with suitable regulations, may also be provided for."

This plan of a seminary was followed by an argument in its support, setting forth its supposed special advantages. The article in question seems to have been communicated to the newspaper by Joseph Duncan, then a resident of Kaskaskia, a personal friend of Ellis and an ardent friend of education, who, as State senator, had in 1824, introduced and championed the first free school law of Illinois, and later, as fifth Governor of the State, earnestly recommended in his inaugural message, a general system of free schools; yet it is thought that Duncan's interest in the cause was largely inspired by Ellis.

The people of "Shoal Creek meeting house," as the neighborhood was called, took the outline of "a plan for a seminary of learning," furnished by Mr. Ellis, which seems to have been substantially the outline published in the Kaskaskia Reporter, as above stated, had it printed and circulated for subscriptions and an encouraging amount was secured—a board of trustees was formed and the enterprise named the "Fairfield Literary and Theological Seminary." The fall meeting (1827) of the presbytery of Missouri, which had under its care all the churches of that denomination in Illinois, except one or two in the Wabash country, was held at Edwardsville, Illinois and Mr. Ellis laid before it the plan of the proposed seminary. The presbytery appointed a committee of four to confer with the trustees of the Fairfield Literary and Theological Seminary with the view of making an arrangement advantageous both to learning and religion. Rev. John M. Ellis, Rev. Salmon Giddings, Rev. Hiram Chamberlin, and Elder Thomas Lippincott were the members of the committee, and they were instructed to report at the next spring session of the presbytery.

Hon. Samuel D. Lockwood and Dr. John Todd, having intimated to Mr. Ellis that perhaps such an institution as proposed might receive stronger support if located elsewhere than at Shoal Creek, Mr. Ellis determined to explore the counties of Greene, Morgan and Sangamon, and ascertain, by per-

sonal investigation, what support for the institution could be gained in those counties. He remodeled his plans in such manner as to call forth an expression of the wishes of the supporters of the movement as to location. Elder Thomas Lippincott, afterward Rev. Thomas Lippincott, accompanied Mr. Ellis on this tour, which was begun in January, 1828, and their expenses were borne by John Tilson, Jr., of Hillsboro, afterward of Quincy, Ill. The committee, Ellis and Lippincott, visited the counties of Greene, Morgan and Sangamon in turn. In Carrollton, Greene county, A. W. Cavarly, Esq. and Dr. Potts manifested much interest. In the neighborhood of Whitehall, Charles Gregory, Zachariah Allen, John Allen and Judge Marks encouraged them with good wishes. From Greene county the committee proceeded northward toward Jacksonville, and I cannot resist the temptation to transcribe here, literally, Mr. Lippincott's description of their approach to and reception at Jacksonville:

"At the close of a cloudy Saturday we found ourselves still on the south side of Sandy creek, as before observed, and some four or five miles short of our destination; but were compelled to stop for the night, and were hospitably entertained by Mr. Thomas B. Arnett. On Sabbath morning, Mr. Ellis having previously forwarded an appointment to preach at some convenient place, we started early, that there might be no failure. It was a bright—a splendid morning. The winter rain had covered every twig and blade of prairie grass with ice, and as the rising sun threw his clear rays athwart the plain, myriads of gems sparkled with living light, and Diamond grove might almost have been fancied a vast crystal chandelier. The house of Judge John Leeper, a mile south of the village, which was our point of destination, was also deemed the most commodious place for public worship for the people of Jacksonville. We were heartily welcomed, and at the appointed hour a congregation assembled and listened attentively to the gospel message. A few pious persons of several denominations were gathered in the village and settlement at that period, and an aged minister resided in the neighborhood, from which he made excursions to preach, besides having temporary charge of the little Presbyterian church at Jacksonville, which had been formed the year before of about 12 members. The next day or two after our arrival we devoted to the work of visiting the place and its few inhabitants, and holding a public meeting for the purpose of presenting the subject. Most of the men prominent in Jacksonville, if not all, entered warmly into the spirit of the enterprise. The writer remembers the unfading interest of John Leeper, Esq., and Dr. Hector G. Taylor, who are deceased, and Dennis Rockwell, Esq., and Dr. Ero Chandler, William C. Posey and others, who still live to see the result of their early efforts. Their warm reception and readiness to act produced an impression on our feelings which induced us to linger; and the surpassing beauty of more than one fine site to which Mr. Rockwell and other gentlemen conveyed us, seemed to intimate that here, so far as location was concerned, our journey might terminate.

"Besides the spot which now obtains the name of "College Hill", we were greatly delighted with the bold eminence that two or three miles west of Jacksonville, terminates the ridge on the eastern end of which that village stands; and while we stood on that swell of prairie beneath the few scattered trees which crowned it, and stretched our eyes over the waving plain, on every side receding and seeming to rise again in the distant perspective, to its wood fringed border, and saw the woodlands of Mauvaisterre on one hand and the Sandy on the other, here and there a cabin and a farm; in the eastern view Diamond Grove, swelling gracefully up and in the west the prairie stretching on, until it seemed narrowed into a mere vista in the distant horizon; I confess that my thought was, that there, on so beautiful and magnificent a spot, where the student would be almost compelled to hold communion with the grand Author, and 'look through nature up to nature's God,' ought to be laid the foundation of an institution designed to train the youth of our country for great and noble enterprises. But there were other things besides magnificence of prospect to be considered, and it has perhaps never been doubted that the spot ultimately chosen, not less beautiful, was on every account decidedly and greatly preferable for its site. The view, if not so extensive, was still more varied, and combined as many and as rich beau-

ties of nature, while the thriving village lay below, at the distance of a mile, on the same gentle slope, and a charming grove crowned the summit immediately in the rear of the spot on which the buildings have since been erected.

"I wish I could remember how many habitations occupied the ridge at that time. We were entertained at my friend Rockwell's, whose was the largest, most commodious, and most finished house in the place, built of unhewn logs, externally rough and black as the soil itself; but internally neat and comfortable, being distinguished as containing several distinct apartments; the writer deems it to be an interesting incident of his life that, on the same spot, in the autumn of 1849, 21 years afterwards, he assisted, by invitation, in the exercises of laying the corner stone of a noble educational building, 'The Illinois Conference Female College.' All was new on the broad swelling prairie in which we were; 'the deer had not yet ceased to feed, bound, or recline in security, and the yells of the prairie wolf often broke upon the ears of the inhabitants of the seat of justice, in Morgan county.' The people had not had time to construct their brick or frame houses, and yet they seemed ready to undertake the erection and support of a seminary of learning; feeling confident that the public spirit of the community of that and adjacent counties would sustain them, and especially that with the rapidly increasing population, an increase of means would flow in."

The committee then proceeded to Springfield, by way of Jersey prairie, then in Morgan county, but now in Cass county, a detour made for the purpose of calling upon Major Conover and Archibald Job, two gentlemen quite prominent in Morgan county affairs.

At Springfield the committee were able to enlist the interest of several gentlemen, among whom are Dr. John Todd, Elijah Iles, Pascal P. Enos, and Dr. Gershom Jayne.

After canvassing Springfield, and Sangamon county, Mr. Ellis returned to Jacksonville, and finding the zeal of its citizens had increased, he decided to locate the institution at Jacksonville and to purchase the site now occupied by Illinois college.

That the citizens of Jacksonville were indeed interested, may be learned from their "Outline for a Plan for the Institution of a Seminary in the State of Illinois," which is the first entry in the records of Illinois college, and is almost identical with the plan submitted by Mr. Ellis, except that the institution is definitely located "within five miles of Jacksonville."

The plan so adopted is as follows:

"The property of the institution procured by subscription, or otherwise, shall be divided into shares, of $10 each. Every subscriber, or contributor, to the amount of $10, shall be a stockholder; and the shares shall be transferable under such regulations as shall be adopted by the trustees or stockholders. Each share in the stock shall entitle its possessor to vote for trustees. Voting by proxy shall be permitted under suitable regulations.

"The institution shall be located within five miles of Jacksonville, Morgan county. The trustees shall have the selection of the professors or instructors, and the direction of the seminary, except in the case hereinafter specified; but in all cases they shall be sacredly pledged to appropriate the donations which they may choose to accept, agreeably to the expressed wish of the donors.

"The foregoing outline may be filled up, the plan brought more into detail; but the principles may not be varied.

"In this institution, young men shall receive an education preparatory to the various duties and business of active life.

"Whenever the intended pursuit of the scholar is known, special regard will be had to that object.

"The English language shall receive particular attention; reading, writing, composition and public speaking, with geography and history, particularly that of our own country.

"Science of government shall be taught, so far at least, as to exhibit its outlines, and to make the student familiar with the principles and blessings of free institutions, and of the American Constitution in particular.

"The Latin and Greek languages will be taught, and the higher branches of education, as means and opportunity may admit, and the trustees direct. The institution shall be formed after such model as to prepare students to be received into any of the colleges in the United States. This will, itself, be the best pledge that can be given at home and abroad, that the institution is conducted on the most liberal and improved system, and as the institution rises from year to year, the students shall be fitted for admission to advanced standing in any of those colleges, i. e. into the second, third or fourth class, or should they choose to remain the requisite time, they shall be conducted through the whole course of college studies.

"Everything will be done to make the institution worthy the patronage of an enlightened and free people, and to secure the accomplishment of their best wishes, for the education of our youth—the hope and glory of the land.

"Opportunity shall be offered to young men of piety and talents, who are seeking an education for the Gospel ministry. But while the benefits of the institution shall be open to all denominations, no preference shall be shown to students of one to the injury or prejudice of those of another. Should this department go into operation, it may be continued in connection with the institution, or detached from it, as circumstances may seem to demand. Its interests shall be directed, and its professors or instructors appointed by the Presbyterian clergy within the State, who are in connection with the General Assembly of the United States.

"Agriculture and perhaps some branches of mechanics will form a part of the system of education, whereby the health of the students will be promoted and their expenses diminished.

"Measures will be taken to facilitate the payment of boarding, in produce, so far as practicable. This outline of a plan was followed by a subscription list in the following form:

"We, the undersigned, do severally promise to pay S. D. Lockwood, John Leeper, H. G. Taylor, Ero Chandler, Dennis Rockwell, Wm. G. Posey, Enoch C. March, Archibald Job, Nathan Compton, Morgan county; John Allen, Greene county; James McClung, Bond county; John Tilson, Montgomery county; John Todd, Sangamon county; William Collins, Madison county, the trustees of said seminary, or their agents, the sum set opposite our names respectively, in aid of the institution above described, payment to be made by installments at a month's notice, after the 1st day of September, next, as shall be directed by the trustees. The articles solicited in subscriptions, are, besides cash, materials for building, land, stock, wheat, etc., books, bedding, furniture, and whatever else may be rendered available to the objects of the institution.

"April, 1828."

Notwithstanding the earnest support given to the enterprise by the people of Jacksonville, and the generous subscriptions made by them and other friends, the funds secured were wholly inadequate, and it was felt by Mr. Ellis and the friends of the institution generally, that the approval and active support of the Presbytery must be obtained.

A full report of the action of the committee was prepared and submitted to Presbytery at its spring meeting in 1828, at St. Louis, and the Presbytery was asked to appoint commissioners to receive subscriptions and draft a constitution, and to accept the direction of the theological department of the seminary. The report was rejected. The Presbytery refused to approve or sanction the plan. The principal objection to it seemed to be that the Presbytery of Missouri was asked to aid in the establishment of an institution in Illinois.

Although much disappointed at the action of presbytery, Mr. Ellis did not lose hope, or for a moment cease his efforts to raise money to carry on the work. The trustees heartily supported him by their own personal efforts,

and showed the courage of the hopeful pioneer, for they proceeded to call for the payment of subscriptions, and at their meeting in January, 1829, resolved to proceed with the erection of a brick building, 33 feet by 36 feet, and two stories high, for the use of the seminary. (This building still stands on the campus of Illinois college, a short distance west of the building where this meeting is being held.)

An unexpected promise of assistance soon came to these brave men. At the first meeting of the trustees, Mr. Ellis had been requested to address a letter to the friends of science and religion, to be used by John Tilson in soliciting aid for the seminary in the eastern states, which he was then about to visit on business. Mr. Ellis had also, of his own motion, published in the "Home Missionary," the organ of the American Home Missionary society, a sketch of the plan proposed for the school, to be established at Jacksonville, and invited the help of eastern friends. A copy of the sketch so published came to the notice of seven young men, then students in the theological department of Yale college, who had entered into a mutual agreement for united effort, for the cause of education, as teachers and preachers in some state in the far west, Illinois being then most favored by them. As a result, correspondence began in March, 1829, between the Illinois association, as the students at Yale called themselves—"the Yale Band," as they were called in Illinois, and Mr. Ellis as representing the trustees of the seminary, looking to a union of the elements and forces represented by the correspondents. Mr. Ellis went to New Haven, and on the 19th of June, 1829, and attended a meeting of the Illinois association, as a result of the correspondence between the Illinois association, at Yale, and the trustees of the seminary at Jacksonville, and the conference with Mr. Ellis, a plan of union between them was agreed upon. It was in substance that the trustees of the institution, should be 15 in number; that only ten should be chosen at present; that three of them should be chosen by the stockholders at Jacksonville, and the seven members of the Illinois association, at Yale should be the other trustees. The Illinois association should raise the sum of $10,000; $2,000 to be paid in at once, the remainder within two years.

On the 18th of November, 1829, Messrs. Baldwin and Sturtevant, representing the Illinois association, at Yale, and bringing with them the much needed $2,000, met with the trustees of the seminary, and after due notice, the proposed union was finally consummated Dec. 18, 1829. Samuel D. Lockwood was then chosen as president of the board of trustees, and "Illinois College" adopted as the name of the institution, and from that time forward, the influence of the "Yale Band" became predominant in the affairs and management of Illinois college.

On the 30th of January, following, Illinois college, began its work as an educational institution, with nine students, five from Morgan county, two from a neighboring county about 35 miles distant, and two from Bond county, about 70 miles distant, in the building first planned by the trustees of the seminary, but still unplastered, unfurnished, and even without a stove for necessary warmth.

At the next session of the Legislature of the State, which convened at Vandalia, Dec. 1, 1830, application was made for an act incorporating the college, but the bill was defeated. One of the principal arguments urged against the incorporation was that those seeking a charter had evidently a plan to unite church and state and thus destroy the liberties of the people.

Another was that the would be incorporators had control of an unlimited amount of money, and would buy up the land of the State, lease it out to tenants, and thus control their vote and get the government of the State into their own hands. The attempt to secure a charter was defeated at every subsequent session of the legislature until Feb. 9, 1835, when the "community of interest" of four different educational institutions in different parts of the State, secured the passage of an act of incorporation to "the trustees of the Alton college of Illinois," "the trustees of Illinois college," "the trustees of McKendreean college," and "the trustees of the Jonesborough college." The cautious legislators, however, carefully protected the people from a union of church and state, by providing in the act that "nothing herein contained,

shall authorize the establishment of a theological department in either of said colleges," and also forstalled the land greed of the incorporators by inserting a provision that "the lands, tenements and hereditaments to be held in perpetuity, in virtue of this act, by either of said corporation;, shall not exceed 640 acres."

It would give me great pleasure to speak of Illinois college, its president, professors and graduates, their character and various spheres of influence, and the high hopes of increased and ever increasing influence for good under its new and energetic president, supported by new and younger members in the board of trust. But so to do would not be possible within the short period allotted for this paper, nor within the scope of the purposes of this society.

I understand that the first object of the Historical Society of Illinois, is to ascertain the names and perpetuate the memory, and record the acts of those men who directed or greatly influenced the course of events, in the formative period in the history of Illinois. For this reason, I have sought, Mr. President, in a manner as brief as possible, consistent with clearness of statement, to show to this society, how a man, without wealth, or position, or great talents, his only resources a high purpose, an unselfish spirit, tireless courage and perhaps something of that mysterious power which is sometimes called personal magnetism, was able to set in motion influences for good, which I trust will continue to grow and expand with the wonderful growth and expansion of our great State.

REV. PETER CARTWRIGHT, D. D.

[By President M. H. Chamberlin, of McKendree college.]

Peter Cartwright was born in Amherst county, Va., Sept. 1, 1785; died at his home in Pleasant Plains, Sangamon county, Sept. 25, 1872, aged 87 years and 24 days.

His father was, for two years, a soldier in the Revolution, and his mother—orphaned when a child—was a devoutly pious woman.

In 1791 the Cartwrights, with 200 other families, turned their faces toward the setting sun in search of new homes in the then western wildernesses of Kentucky. They were accompanied by 100 well mounted and armed young men, who acted as an escort and defense against the hostile Indians that infested the country, and, as compensation for their services, they were provisioned on the pilgrimage.

The migration at that time was large, and, as there were no wagon roads, the pack animal was the only method of transportation. The trail over which they passed was literally red with the blood of the slain victims of the aborigines. In one place the company struck their camp fires in the presence of the dead, only recently murdered, while in another they halted to bury six men, emigrants returning to Virginia, and, again, seven families, from among their own number, who voted to camp where nightfall found them—rather than continue their journey an added seven miles to the first white settlement, where Fort Crab Orchard was located—were all, with the exception of a single individual, cruelly slaughtered and plundered of their belongings.

Kentucky, at that time, was claimed by no one tribe of Indians, but was held by them all as a common hunting ground, abounding in every variety of game, for which reason its invasion by the white man was contested in a warfare of the utmost malignancy. In the struggle for the occupancy of Kentucky the number of the slain reached such proportions that it was known to both contesting parties as the "Land of Blood," and it is not improbable that that State is the reddest battlefield of our earlier western pioneer history.

The Cartwrights settled on a little farm, in Lincoln county, where they remained for two years when they removed to the county of Logan, about nine miles south of the present city of Russellville. This locality was known as "Rogues' Harbor" for the reason that men of desperate character, fugitives from justice, from all parts of the Union, had taken refuge there—gamblers, horse thieves, robbers and murderers—until they actually outnumbered the population favoring good order. It was almost impracticable, on trial, to convict these offenders since their associates would swear them clear of their offenses, and, when inculpating verdicts were secured, the courts were powerless to execute their judgments. Indeed anarchy prevailed, and the Cartwrights, having escaped the perils incident to the raids of the murderous Indian, seemed to have fallen into a society where life and property were as insecure as when they were surrounded by the hostile aborigines, which, at that time, were happily driven from Kentucky territory. The reign of terror which prevailed led to an armed organization of the friends of good order, which was promptly met by a like organization of the malevolent forces, the first battle resulting in victory for the latter, with slain victims on both sides of the contest. Indeed many people were killed before the good order party secured control of the county.

Under the best of circumstances, in that country, the Cartwrights would have had but little encouragement. If the horrors of an almost continuous war attended with blood and carnage, had been eliminated, you would still have found this family 40 miles distant from a grist mill, without a nearby school, and no newspaper in all Kentucky, south of Green river. The father and son grew the flax and cotton, which was stripped from the reed of the one, and picked and ginned from the bowl of the other, by the fingers of mother and sister. The same hands turned these products into thread on the spinning wheel, made it into cloth on the loom, cut it into pattern, and after sewing it together, the strange evolution of a pioneer garment was effected. The couch on which they rested from the toils of the day, made by sinking two forks in the ground, on which three poles were placed, the wall of the cabin making the fourth support, a dining table constructed in like manner, the grain, of which their bread was made, broken with pestle and mortar and sieved through a perforated deer skin stretched upon sticks, is an inventory of the chief articles of furniture in the Cartwright family.

Now let me pause to ask what destiny have you to predict for a lad raised amid such scenes of blood and deprivation, particularly when, before he was 15 years of age, his first presents, from his own father, were a race horse and cards for gaming?

If he should turn out as bad as the worst element in "Rogues Harbor" surely our judgment should be tempered with merciful moderation; while, on the other hand, if he should grow up into a life of integrity and usefulness, our approbation should not fall a whit short of admiration and unstinted praise.

Young Cartwright ran a short career of horse racing and gambling, for which he had a passionate fondness, and in which he was very successful as a winner of money. After attending a certain wedding, accompanied by his father, where the hilarity rose to a height little short of a carousal, he fell under the deepest conviction over the life he was leading. His agony of

PETER CARTWRIGHT.

mind was so great that he was pronounced "crazy" by his neighbors. He turned his race horse over to his father, gave his cards to his mother, who burned them, and, after several weeks of mental distraction, attended a sacramental meeting, held under the auspices of a Presbyterian clergyman, where he was converted and joined the church of his mother—the Methodist Episcopal. In his determination to lead a new life he had the counsel and prayers of his mother, while his father—be it said to his credit—offered no opposition.

In 1801 he was licensed as an exhorter. The same year he moved with his father to Lewiston county, locating near an academy taught by a Scotch seceder, whose hatred of the Methodists was only equalled by his excellence as a teacher. Cartwright made rapid progress in his studies, in the meantime, occasionally, exercising his gifts as an exhorter. This incurred not only the displeasure of his teacher but the ridicule of his pupils, and it was determined by two of the latter, to decoy him to a steep bank on a nearby creek and throw him into a pool of deep water. The suddenly developed kindness of his heretofore persecutors aroused young Cartwright's godly alertness and tensioned his converted muscles so that, in due time—though never a believer in immersion as a saving ordinance—he administered to his persecutors the baptism which it was their purpose the young Methodist should experience. The utter lack of encouragement received from his teacher, and the latter's sympathy with Cartwright's fellow student persecutors, caused him to abandon the school, and, at the age of 18 he entered upon a ministerial career, than which there has been none other more remarkable in the history of this country, nor none more effective, or useful, in all that broad empire known as the Mississippi valley.

To follow his lonely career as an itinerant—the faithful horse which he bestrode being his only companion—through storm and tempest, cold and hunger, scantily clad; on circuits measured by hundreds of miles, through a sparsely settled country, where only an occasional wagon road was known, and across unbridged streams, would be an intensely interesting study, did my time admit of the delineation. He was allowed, under the rules of his church, a salary of $80 per year, the payment depending upon the benevolence of his parishioners, and, in his "Autobiography," he states that for each year of the first three of his service he received but one half of that allowance; indeed during his long ministerial history, stretching over a period of 65 years—though in the meantime clerical salaries were advanced with the growth of his church—he tells us that in but three instances was his annual salary paid to fullness.

His ministrations, from the outset, were attended with phenomenal success. Many of his public meetings, because of the opposition he met with from rival denominations, as well as those who were enemies of good order, were dramatic, some of which gave promise of a tragic ending, and would have so resulted but for his rare mental alertness and physical courage—the latter, in all cases, being simply a reflex of the moral force in the make-up of Cartwright's character.

His ministerial career, after taking regular orders, covered a period of more than 65 years, 20 of which were, for the most part, given within the limits of the southern states, he, in the meantime, being domiciled in Kentucky; and 45 in the State of Illinois, during all of which latter period he made Pleasant Plains, in Sangamon county, his place of constant residence. Fifteen years of his entire minstry he did duty as a circuit rider in parishes which involved hundreds of miles of itineration, the rude cabins of the frontier being his places for preaching. The remaining 50 years of his clerical life were given to the duties of presiding elder, a post to which he was

first appointed in 1812, and, thereafter, with almost unbroken succession, was repeatedly re-appointed by the bishops, until, in that important office, second only to the bishopric, he rounded out a half century of inestimable service.

His earlier districts, as presiding elder, were even larger than his circuits, the former, at times, covering portions of territory now embraced within several states of the Union. Much of the country was without roads—in some instances even devoid of trails—the lonely itinerant having to gauge his course by general direction, across trackless wastes, by certain fixed objects on constantly expanding horizons, until destination was reached in some isolated cabin. The heat of summer's sun, and the more inhospitable rigors of the winter's blasts, unbridged, swollen and turbulent streams seemed never to have impeded his progress, since it is said of him that he seldom missed an appointment. Coming, at long intervals into these lonely frontier homes, with such uniform punctuality, must indeed have made his visitations seem to their occupants like those of an evangel. And why not? He was their highway commissioner, their newspaper, their railroad, telegraph and telephone; he was indeed the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way and make the path straight," for a dispensation of which he was the prophet and which he lived to see in fulfilment.

He was 13 times elected, by the respective annual conferences to which he belonged, a delegate to the quadrennial session of the general conference—the chief legislative council of his church—wherein representatives held sittings from all parts of the world where his denomination had an organization. In the meantime he served his church, in both the annual and general conferences, on committees covering the widest range of subjects, and, in the absence of the bishops, was twice elected presiding officer of his annual conference. He was treasurer of the Metropolitan church in 1853, custodian of the centenary funds, in 1840, 1841 and 1845; for two years he served, and without compensation, as superintendent of the Pottawattomie Indian mission; he served for six years as visiting trustee to McKendree college, and the records show that in 1830, he acted as president of its board, and that 15 years later that body, not unworthily, honored him with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was also for three years visiting trustee of Illinois Wesleyan university, one year to the Garrett Biblical institute, and a like period president of the Pleasant Plains academy.

A fact should not go unmentioned here, to which my attention has been called by Dr. J. F. Snyder, vice-president of this society, Cartwright, together with Governors Cole, Reynolds, Edwards; Judges Breese and Hall; Prof. John Russell and others, were, in 1827, the organizers of the first State historical society. This was but three years after his advent to the State, and shows, even at that early date, how important a factor he was regarded among the pioneer public men, independent of the question of church affiliation.

He was a chaplain in General Jackson's army, and was present at the battle of New Orleans. On the authority of Judge Zane, of Utah, for many years a neighbor of Doctor Cartwright, the following incident is worthy of note: Before entering into the battle, the general called his chaplains together and exhorted them, "to preach to the soldiers the justice of their cause and assure them, if they died in battle, they would go straight to Heaven." Cartwright replied, "General, I can't go quite that far, but I can say I believe our cause is of God, and that if any of them should be killed, God in the last account would give them credit for their sacrifices." A very conservative statement.

In 1823, because of the baleful influence of slavery, he determined to leave Kentucky, assigning the following reasons therefor: "I would get entirely clear of the evil of slavery; could raise my children where work was not

thought a degradation, and could better my temporal circumstances, and procure land for my children as they grew up, and could carry the gospel to needy, destitute souls, in some new country, deprived of the means of grace."

His wife—a native Kentucky lady, whose maiden name was Miss Frances Gaines, to whom he had then been married for 16 years, and to whom he submitted all his plans before decisions for action—was in entire accord with his suggestions to change their habitation. So, in the spring of 1823, with his brother-in-law, Mr. Gaines, and Rev. Charles Holiday, he set out on horseback to "explore Illinois," with the result of fixing on Sangamon county as his future home, to which locality he moved in the fall of 1824. Here he lived for more than a generation and a half, identified with the interests and history of the State, and an important factor in its material growth and religious civilization. At that time Sangamon was the northernmost organized county in the State. All north of it was an Indian country, and though not occupied by hostile tribes, in the sense of those we have already alluded to as infesting Kentucky, they were degraded and shiftless, having adopted "civilization" only to the extent of accepting the "firewater" of their pale-faced brethern. He immediately took work in the conference, was assigned to a circuit, sparsely populated, and not unlike those he had known in his Kentucky experience.

Reverting to the slavery question, the inducing cause of his removal from the south, and quoting from his "Autobiography," he says: "I will not attempt to enumerate the moral evils that have been produced by slavery; their name is legion. And now, notwithstanding these are my honest views of slavery, I have never seen a rabid abolitionist or free-soil society that I could join, because they resort to unjustifiable legislation, and the means they employ are generally unchristian."

His abhorrence of slavery was only equalled by his detestation of anti-slavery agitation and "underground railroads." It is not difficult to see how his views at that period should have proven unsatisfactory to both sides of this controversy. By some in the north he was considered in sympathy with the pro-slavery element, while by others in the south he was regarded as a confederate of the abolitionists. His views, in 1824, in effect simply anticipated the position of the Republican party at the time of its organization in 1856—"non-interference with slavery where it exists, and its restriction from free territory"—he believing, as did the fathers, its peaceable extinction would ultimately be accomplished.

The session of the General Conference which met in New York in 1844, and of which body Cartwright was a conspicuous member, was one which created intense excitement throughout the entire country. The Baltimore Annual Conference, but a short time before, suspended one of its ministerial members for failing to manumit certain slaves received by him through a recent marriage. On appeal to the General Conference, after a debate of intense acrimony, the action of the lower conference was sustained, followed at the same session by legislation, of a provisional nature, which was equivalent to a recognition of the rights of that portion of the church adhering to slavery to detach itself from the parent church organization. Cartwright opposed this with all the intensity of his nature, but on a vote of 110 to 68 was defeated—his four associate delegates from the Illinois conference voting with the majority. He took the position that no portion of the church had the constitutional right to secede, and that, after having so done, no rights could attach by which the seceding element could justly claim possession of any of the property of the original organization. Indeed, his position here was, in an important sense, analogous to that of our general government in its contention with the south over the doctrine of secession which led to the Civil War.

He was a life long democrat; first an adherent of Jackson, subsequently of Douglas, and later, on the breaking out of the civil war, an uncompromising Union democrat, believing in the most vigorous prosecution of the war until complete conquest was made of secession.

He was a devout believer and defender of the polity of his church. He was strongly opposed to lay representation in its legislative bodies, for which cherished opinion he was frequently called "unprogressive." When it is stated that it was his conviction that the ministerial function was one purely spiritual—the preaching of the word—and that the "book concern" and other like agencies, even the colleges of denomination, should be manned by a godly laity, instead of the clergy, he had much better warrant for his views on the question of lay representation than the very strong minority which so long and tenaciously opposed it.

A feature in the career of our subject, which I am surprised has not elicited special comment—except its bare mention in his "autobiography"—is the fact that he represented Sangamon county in 1828, 1829, 1832 and 1833 in the Lower House of the Illinois General Assembly. At the time of his first election that county returned three members. There were nine candidates voted for, the three highest receiving the following votes: J. H. Pugh, 649; Peter Cartwright, 560; William Elkin, 554. At the same election Jackson received 682 and Adams 431 for president. In 1830, Cartwright stood for re-election, and out of eight candidates, his vote took the fourth place, and he was therefore defeated. In 1832, he was again a candidate, with eleven others, four of whom, under a new apportionment, were to be elected. The four highest votes were as follows: G. D. Taylor, 1,127; John T. Stuart, 991; Achilles Morris, 945; Peter Cartwright, 815. At this time Mr. Lincoln was one among the candidates, and eighth on the list, receiving 657 votes. At the same election Jackson received for president 1,033, and Henry Clay 810. In 1846, Mr. Cartwright ran for Congress against Mr. Lincoln, receiving 4,827 votes, against the latter's 6,340.

The House journal, during his first year's service, shows him to have been an active member in matters of legislation. He was the author of a bill, "To prevent immorality and vice;" also one concerning "Distribution of school funds;" another, "To amend the act relating to criminal jurisprudence," as well as various resolutions covering, "The protection of seminary lands, State banks, etc." On the organization of the House in 1833, he was made speaker *pro tem.* He was chairman of the committee to notify the Governor of the organization of the House, also of the committee on "rules," and the chairman of the standing "committee on education" and a member of the standing committee on "petitions and grievances." He was also a member of 19 select committees and chairman of a number of the same, and was the author of various important bills and resolutions. A bill to establish a "State Seminary," presented by him went to a second reading, after which it disappeared from the records; was likely smothered in committee. It is a curious bit of history that the object of one of the select committees to which he was appointed contemplated an investigation, and report upon some method by which the prairie lands of the State might be used for agricultural purposes.

He was the author of a preamble and resolutions against South Carolina nullification, in response to a message on that subject from President Jackson, which for its excellence of composition, diplomatic verbiage, judicial temper and patriotic impulses, is especially notable. It went to the "Committee of the Whole," was discussed, and upon motion the subject was referred to a joint committee of the Senate and House, Mr. Cartwright having been appointed a member from the latter body.

The Journal shows him to be one of the four most active members of the House, and particularly interested in schools, roads, educational legislation

and the varied phases of internal improvements. His punctuality, as shown by the roll-call, was phenomenal. This same characteristic was peculiar to his ministerial career, for it is said that in but a single instance, (and that on account of the serious sickness of his wife) during the forty-five years of his connection with the Illinois conference, did he fail to meet at its annual sessions, and in only three instances did he miss the first roll-call, two of which sessions found him present on the second, while through all those years he was not off duty to exceed a six month's period.

That Cartwright should have left an estate valued at $40,000 will prove a surprising statement when set over against the one already made, viz: that in but three instances of his long ministerial history was his annual salary, parsimoniously estimated, paid to fullness. In explanation of this apparent paradox we have furnished a side-light on the character of the man showing how effectually, from the beginning of his settled work, he provided against contingencies which might thwart the all-absorbing purpose of his soul. With his qualifications as preacher, evangelist and administrator, his church recognized his added efficiency as a financier. He constantly impressed upon his parishioners the importance and duty of their meeting with punctuality the appointed apportionments for the various benevolences of the church, but never pressed his own claims in the matter of salary. He merely took what was given him by those appointed to see to the collection. In this connection call to mind the fact already recited, that, from the date of his marriage to his death, he never had but two residences—both being farm homes—where by the toil of his own hands, he supplemented the deficiencies of his earlier unpaid salaries. As a family grew up about him its members became factors in the matter of the common support of the household, and the surplus earnings of this aggregation of forces were invested in the cheap lands of early times, so that, at the time of his death, he left to his widow and the eight children who had grown to maturity, an inheritance—the product of more than a half century's accretive values—far from being sufficiently great to admit of having imputed to him the reputation of a "grasping" character or to, in any sense, dim the lustre of the fame he won in having led a sacrificial life for the good of others. In these facts are found an important lesson. His church never, in a single instance, furnished him a parsonage. His circuits and districts were of such extent that the places he chose for permanent homes were practically central to his work, and the foresight in providing himself with a fixed habitation, as a base of operation, assured the resources for support which enabled him to carry on the wonderful work which he accomplished during two generations—the first of which was essentially pioneer in character. It should not go unsaid that in the meantime he was a cheerful contributor to the benevolences to which he urged others to become patrons, especially priding himself in what he had given for education—a cause to which he had so often, and unjustly, been accused of antagonizing.

Thus you have a running sketch, or skeleton, of this remarkable man's career, worthy] of a filling by the pen of a painstaking biographer. Opinions are so diverse as to what manner of man he was, that, if tradition only were relied upon, it would be but a generation or two until he would fall within the category of apocryphal characters. If he were to come from the grave, into this presence, I know of no conspicuous character, other than himself, who could more fittingly ask the question, "Who do men say that I am?"

Cartwright was five feet nine inches in height, weighing, in his prime, about 180 pounds; muscular, erect, dark brown hair, dark grey eyes—with that flashing characteristic peculiar to men of intense natures—well poised head, and with the firm set lips of a man having great resolution.

As a judge of men and the motives by which they were actuated, he was unsurpassed. He seemed to have an ex-ray gift by which he divined the secret thoughts of the bully holding evil intent toward him, as also the self-asserting and patronizing essay-writing preacher from the theological seminary; for the one, as was ofttimes proven, he had, in his consecrated muscular arsenal the weapons which never failed for his defense, and for the other a righteous ridicule equally effective.

He did not like to be patronized, and despised sham and pretense with a holy hatred. To be approached by one with the bearing of asserted superiority, because of his being a frontiersman, aroused his indignation, not alone that it was a personal reflection, but because of the fact that it was at the same time an aspersion on a constituency of which he held himself but a typical member. I think his motto must have been: "Every man my equal, and no one my superior." Both morally and physically he was absolutely fearless. All of his physical encounters—in every one of which he was victorious, and with some of the worst characters of his time—he was never the aggressor. They were either in personal defense or in vindication of the rights of his religious gatherings—more frequently the latter. In defense of his congregations may be named the incident of his unhorsing with a club a desperate character, who sought, at the head of a squad of improvised cavalry, to break up one of his campmeetings, only after his assailant had failed, by a misdirected stroke, to brain him with a weapon of like character; and, also, the putting to ignominious flight two stalwart Kentucky brothers, who came to administer a horsewhipping to the preacher, because he, while speaking at a campmeeting, had given the "jerks" to their two sisters, together with many others, by turning loose from a phial some volatile essence, which, as they believed, cast a kind of "hoodoo" spell upon all the people. His accepting the challenge to duel of the chivalric Kentucky lawyer, by choosing cornstalks as the weapons, to the utter discomfiture of the latter, and his ducking in the middle of the river the bellicose ferryman who had published his purpose to flog Cartwright on their first meeting, are among the cases involving personal grievances. It is a fact, singular as true, that nearly all of his vanquished subsequently became his spiritual subjects.

A typical illustration of the individuality of his moral courage is found in an incident given of General Jackson's presence at one of his meetings. Cartwright was about to enter upon his discourse, when an associate preacher seated on the rostrum—presumably as an admonition to temper his remarks so as not to give offense to the distinguished visitor—whispered a knowledge of his presence. To the amazement of the entire audience, Cartwright called out: "Who is General Jackson? If he does not repent of his sins and become converted, he will go hell like anyone else." It was generally believed that a challenge for duel would be sent the preacher by the general. On the contrary, the latter, after the close of the service, invited Cartwright to dine with him, and congratulated him on his sincerity and high moral courage. At the table was a young infidel lawyer, who embarrassed the preacher with questions which he, out of respect to the proprieties of the occasion, refused to answer. Failing to involve him in a controversy, he turned to the host and asked, "General, do you believe there is a hell?" to receive in quick response: "If there is not, there ought to be, to put such d—d rascals as you are in."

As a preacher Cartwright was logical, forcible and convincing—his audiences, ofttimes, being moved into tumultuous excitement. He had a deep rich bass voice, which, even in his intensest moments, he, unlike most of the preachers of his day, never strained to fullest tension He was always self-possessed and, in his advice to young preachers gave them counsel, as to the use of the voice, worthy a place in an elocutionary treatise. As a debater he had few equals, and, on the floor of the general and annual conferences, his intellectual strength was conceded by both colleague and competitor, and, in shaping legislation, he was among the foremost in these representative bodies. Though defeated on the slavery issue in the general conference, of 1844—all four of his Illinois colleagues voting against him—on his return home he carried his annual conference against ratifying the action of the former body. He was wholly fair in controversy, conceded all strong points of an opponent, never equivocated, and, while in the legislature, the recorded votes show that he was not disposed to filibuster. He was resourceful, having an amassment of information on almost all questions which was truly surprising, and, in an extremity, could promptly summon to his aid the sources of relief to meet emergencies.

His faculty for adapting himself to environment was remarkable. He could, in the apostolic sense, be all things to all men. To the rude, rude; to

the one disposed to bluff, he was a regular "Babcock Extinguisher"—in all such cases, maintaining his own self-respect perfectly. In social circles of the cultured, on the authority of Doctors McElfresh, McElroy, and Judge Zane—all of whom were Cartwright's latter-day contemporaries—he was dignified, courteous and refined in both bearing and speech, and chivalric to the ladies.

He was a great reader, a strong forcible and terse writer. His "Autobiography" is not to be taken as an example. This is given out as a rambling account, or diary, of his current experiences, and it was not until years of persistent persuasion, by the leading men of his church including the bishops, that he consented to prepare it for publication. For his personal experiences, its side lights on the history of his time, it should be held invaluable, and its very incoherency makes it all the more interesting, and, in an important sense, a model of its kind in literature.

His "Letter to the Devil," in answer to one devised and published by three anti-Arminian preachers, who made Cartwright the subject of severe animadversion, is a document of strength, good, well-sentenced English, and as an argument—in a day, too, when denominational controversy was at its height—holds high rank among the papers which successfully combated Calvinism.

He was frequently spoken of as an enemy to education—a statement far too commonly accepted. The record I have already furnished of his acts, in both church and State service, is a complete refutation of that accusation. Cartwright was very sincerely opposed to theological schools, measuring their merit by the preacher product they sent to the west, in early times. He lost no opportunity to publicly emphasize his opposition, and, in so doing, provoked their adherents to a defense and the use of arguments, whether unwittingly or not, which gave color to the idea that he was an enemy to the cause of education in general.

He was an ardent friend of both academies and colleges and, since full training in the latter is supposed to result in a mental discipline fitting the finished product for original investigation along scientific and other lines, it was undoubtedly his belief that a like process of training would qualify the college graduate for the interpretation of a science, which, because of its simplicity, bore the legend that the "wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein." In other words, it seemed his conviction that the college graduate ought to be sufficiently equipped to receive a revelation without specializing, as is required in cases where scientific subjects of investigation are confessed mysteries. Cartwright evidently thought that after a young man had fitted himself with a thorough collegiate education, specializing in a theological school would develop ecclesiastical conceit at the expense of the pure gospel

Cartwright was himself an educated man. Mark you, I am not saying he was scholarly. Scholarship and education, in common parlance, are illogically used as convertible terms. Scholarship is a means to an end—education. It often occurs that scholars are not educated, and, occasionally, that educated men are not scholars. Lincoln is an illustration of the latter class—likewise Cartwright. The truth is, education is only a necessity for the common mind; with the uncommon mind, a powerful auxiliary.

Furthermore, as an evidence of his insistence in behalf of popular education, he was one of the chief advocates favoring the establishment of a literary and religious paper, for the use of the more western church constituency, and continued his labors in behalf of the enterprise, until he, with his co-laborers, had successfully lodged the Central Christian Advocate on the banks of the Mississippi. He carried good literature in the proverbial saddle-bags of the early-day Methodist preacher, and tells us he was instrumental in the sale of $10,000 worth of books in pioneer homes, adding that he verily believed their distribution had done more good than all his preaching. This last thought, together with the oft-repeated recognition in his "autobiography" of the value and power of his associate preachers—as well as the like service of broadminded clergy of other denominations—effectually disposes of the frequent aspersion that he was egotistical.

It may be a surprise to you that I should speak of Cartwright as unsympathetic. If, added to his judical and logical mind, he had possessed the warm summer glow of sympathy, his fertile brain would have minted a coinage of words which would have made him a commanding orator. In his family, where he always knew himself to be understood, especially by his wife, the portcullis of his heart was always wide open to an exhibition of the utmost tenderness. On all questions of doubt his wife was the supreme court of his earthly affections and to its decisions he rendered cheerful obedience.

He did everything from a sense of duty, inspired by principle. He had faults, made mistakes, but no one was more prompt than he to acknowledge the one and make reparation for the other, when convinced of error, and his mind was always open to conviction. Judge Zane, in writing to me, gives a notable, indeed pathetic instance of this in a case where Cartwright had gone to law, in the belief that he had been wronged, and on the advice of two attorneys, who assured him that his cause was that of justice. After the testimony was all in, and the court had given the verdict against him, he arose, apologetically addressed the judge, confessed he was wrong, footed the bill and returned to his home.

Some letters I have received speak of him as "peculiar" and "eccentric." So he was, and so is any man, who, in performance of duty goes forward to a goal of principle, or righteousness, in the meantime, having, necessarily, to trample under foot the impediments of popular environments.

What now have you to say of this child born during the closing scenes of the Revolutionary war; this lad who listened about the campfire to the tragic tales of danger which beset the families with whom he traveled over a crimson trail in search of homes in the wilderness, and the young man whose associates were citizens of "Rogues Harbor?"

If, with his great natural abilities, he had continued his career as a gambler, he would, doubtless, have come to the head of some formidable Monte Carlo; if, with his judicial mind, he had been schooled for law, he might have taken a seat in our highest tribunal; if he had adopted the business of an iron monger, he might have anticipated the career of Carnegie. He was a born leader, and, had he devoted himself to politics, he might have held any office in the gift of the people. He accepted rather, and from a sheer sense of duty, the humbler life of an itinerant preacher, ignoring the glamor of earthly honor, title, and emoluments—the things which inspire the great bulk of the race to highest endeavor—in the belief that, though the laurel wreath were denied him here, he would, in the hereafter, be crowned with one, the leaves of which would never wither.

EARLY RELIGIOUS METHODS AND LEADERS IN ILLINOIS.

[By W. F. Short, D. D.]

The topic assigned to me on the program is so comprehensive that it would require many volumes to contain an account of all the matters, events and persons connected therewith. Indeed, many volumes have been written upon the subject from time to time, by persons of capability and integrity, some of whom were active participants in the events they relate. Even these with the limited means for collecting and preserving such data at the time, are necessarily fragmentary and incomplete. So a vast amount of matters of historical interest and value on many subjects have been irreparably lost. It will be impossible to compress a satisfactory account in 30 minutes. I have availed myself of the contributions of some of such authors who have written upon the subject of my topic. My paper is little more than a compilation of what such writers have preserved for us. Without giving credit in every case where such use has been made, I will here name some of the

sources of the facts herein related: Gazetteer of Illinois by J. M. Peck, published by R. Goudy in Jacksonville, Ill., in 1834: "History of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois," by A. L. Norton 1879; "Early History of the West and Northwest," by S. R. Beggs, 1868; "History of Methodism in Illinois," by James Leaton, 1883. A number of other historians and writers have greatly enriched us by their contributions upon these subjects.

When I sat down to write it seemed more natural to consider first the religious leaders in Illinois, and then their methods; and I have taken the liberty of such a transposition in my treatment of the topic.

Any historical record of the settlement and early events of Illinois that should omit mention of the religious phases and persons of that time would be as defective as the presentation on the stage of Hamlet, with Hamlet left out. Indeed, no one phase seems to have been more prominent. The religious element is inseparable from human nature. It cannot be eliminated from man's constitution. No abyss of intellectual and moral debasement has ever obliterated it. No means has been found that can destroy the poison of the rattlesnake. It defies the intensest heat and the most powerful acids. So is it with the elements of religion; reverence, humility, adoration, prayer, gratitude, fear, faith, hope, love; they cannot be extinguished.

Owing to the poor facilities for transportation of their families and limited effects, and the hardships of a tedious and long journey, and the great privations of a residence in a new country, it was rarely undertaken except by persons possessing a large amount of energy and moral stamina. Hence, among the pioneers of the state there was only a small per cent of thriftless and vicious immigrants. Many of the pioneers had been members of churches, and brought with them strong religious convictions and habits, and at once established such means as the circumstances would permit. But it must not be inferred that all who came were possessed of a sympathetic regard for religion. At that time, the beginning of the last century, and for some years, there had grown up in our country and in Europe, a widespread and influential infidel sentiment. It had impregnated the minds of a small per cent of those who came at that time to Illinois. In some communities it was dominant. In such places the men of prominence and influence in business and the professions were indifferent, if not unfriendly, to religion. In other places the opposite was the condition in regard to that matter. I am personally acquainted with a number of communities in the State where the present religious conditions are still typed by that circumstance at the beginning. In one case the religious conditions are still relatively weak; in the other they are dominant. It has been an irreparable misfortune in one case; in the other a priceless boon.

There are some little discrepancies in the dates given by different writers respecting the introduction and organization of the various churches in Illinois, but they are too slight to impair the historic value of the account.

The earliest representatives of religion in Illinois were Roman Catholics. That fact is not peculiar to Illinois and other parts of our country. It has been characteristic of that church from their beginning. No body of Christians has ever shown greater missionary enterprise, zeal, heroism and self-denial in the propagation of religion. None seem to have been actuated by purer and more unselfish motives than some of those missionaries that early entered new fields. Whatever may be said in disparagement of their methods and works (which might be affirmed of others) it must be admitted that the world is better today by reason of their existence and work. More than 100 years before we have any account of any Protestant minister or organization within the bounds of the territory of Illinois, Marquette, La Salle, Joliet and Hennepin traversed the long distance from the Atlantic communities through unbroken wildernesses to minister to the scattered French settlements and Indians. As early as 1673 they established missions at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Peoria, and other points on the Mississippi.

In most of the western states the first settlement of the country and the introduction of Methodism were contemporaneous. Scarcely had the pioneer erected his cabin before the itinerant was there with his saddle-bags containing his Bible, hymn book and Discipline, to proclaim to him and his house-

hold the glad tidings of a free salvation, and to gather them into the fold of Christ. But this was not the case in Illinois. The State had been settled more than a century before the first Methodist sermon was preached in it; and it was more than 30 years after that before a Methodist conference was organized in its territory. The exact year in which Methodism was introtroduced is not positively known, but it seems probable that the first Methodist was Captain Joseph Ogle, who was converted through the instrumentality of James Smith, a Separate Baptist preacher of Kentucky, who visited and preached in Illinois in 1787, and who was undoubtedly the first Protestant preacher who visited the territory. So we accord to the Baptists the high distinction of the leadership of the Protestant hosts in our State. Also they have to this day been fully abreast in influence and effort and honorable success with all churches.

Captain Ogle was a native of Virginia. He came to Illinois in the summer of 1785, settling first in the American bottom, in the present county of Monroe, and afterwards removed to St. Clair county, where he died in February, 1821, aged 80.

The first Methodist preacher who visited the country was Joseph Lillard, then a local preacher of Kentucky, who, during his visit, gathered the few scattered Methodists into a class, and appointed Captain Ogle as their leader. This was in 1793; and was the first Methodist class in the State.

Four or five years after Mr. Lillard's visit, John Clark visited the settlements of Illinois. He was a Scotchman. At the age of 20 he entered the British navy. He was taken prisoner and sent to Havana, where he remained in prison 19 months. He subsequently visited England, and had several conversations with Mr. Wesley, and often heard him preach. In 1798 he crossed into Missouri, being, it is believed, the first Prötestant minister who preached the gospel west of the Mississippi.

In the same year that Mr. Clark came, Hosea Rigg, the first resident local preacher in Illinois, settled in the American bottom, in St. Clair county. He extended the work, and organized other societies in Madison county. In appearance Mr. Rigg was tall and quite thin. He had a voice of wonderful power. He was a man of deep and active piety, abundant in labors and very tenacious for Methodist doctrine and usage, and very useful in the church. He died at his residence near Belleville in 1841, at the age of 81.

Another of the early settlers who aided in the establishment of Methodism in Illinois was William Scott. He moved from Kentucky, and settled at Turkey hill, St. Clair county, in 1797. He died in 1828.

In 1803 the western conference of the Methodist Episcopal church embraced all the country west of the Alleghany mountains. The Illinois mission, the first pastoral charge, was formed, with Benjamin Young as pastor. In 1806 Jesse Walker was sent to the Illinois circuit. When a child of 9 years he was awakened under a sermon preached by a Baptist minister, and soon after was converted. Here again Methodism is indebted to the Baptist church. To Jesse Walker, Methodism in Illinois and Missouri is doubtless indebted more than to any other single individual; for throughout a large portion of both states he was literally its pioneer.

In April, 1807, Mr. Walker held the first camp-meeting ever held in the State, about three miles south of the present town of Edwardsville. The meeting was a powerful one, and many present were affected with that strange movement, the "jerks." At one of Mr. Walker's camp-meetings Enoch Moore was converted. He was the first American male child born in Illinois. He was licensed as a local preacher, and held that office till his death in 1848. He was a member of the convention that formed the first constitution of Illinois. For a number of years he was circuit clerk of his county, and for 20 years was probate judge. Time does not permit even the mentioning of the multitudes of names, of noted ministers and laymen who were conspicuous in establishing and extending the work of the Methodist Episcopal church in Illinois in those early years. Among the galaxy would shine John Clingan, James Ward, William McKendree (afterwards Bishop),

Samuel Parker, James Axley, John Scrips, Samuel Thompson, Jesse Haile, John Dew, David Sharp, Nathan Scarritt, Stephen R. Beggs, and many others equally distinguished for their abilities and usefulness.

In 1817 Zadoc Casey, who had settled at Mt. Vernon, united with the Methodist church. He was elected to the State legislature in 1828; in 1830, Lieutenant Governor; in 1832, to congress, in which he served ten years; in 1848, he was a member of the State Constitutional convention, and afterwards a member of the legislature. For over 40 years he was a faithful and useful local preacher. Thus he, like many others of his time, took a prominent part in laying the foundation both of the State and church. In 1812 Peter Cartwright was appointed presiding elder of the Wabash district, then included in the Tennessee conference. At the end of the year he returned to Kentucky, and continued his ministry there till 1824, when he was again appointed to the Sangamon circuit. Then began a career that has had no parallel in the history of the Methodist church. A man of great physical power, great energy, superior mental force, and remarkable organizing and executive ability. There is no estimating the valuable service that he rendered the church. The delineation of his life and work will be amply brought out in the paper that will be read by President Chamberlin.

Any account of the early religious leaders in Illinois would be incomplete if the name of Peter Akers was omitted. As an able preacher and Biblical scholar he stands alone among all the Methodist preachers in the Mississippi valley.

It would be strange if, considering the peculiar conditions of the times and the great number of preachers, there should not be some who became noted for various eccentricities. Indeed, such instances were frequent. Rev. William Stribling was an illustration of this. He was a very able and eloquent preacher. His command of language was most extraordinary. The following specimens may indicate his peculiarity in that respect. Being violently opposed to the use of tobacco, he once administered a reproof to an old smoker in this manner: "Venerable sir, the deleterious effluvia emanating from your tobacconistic reservoir so overshadows our occular optics and so obfuscates our sensorium, that our respirable apparatus must shortly be obtunded, unless, through your abundant suavity and preëminent politeness, you will disembogue that illuministic tube from the stimulating and sternutatory ingredient, which replenishes the rotundity of the vastness of its concavity."

The proverb, "You can't make a money purse out of a sow's ear," he refined in this manner: "At the present era of the world it has been found impracticable to fabricate a sufficiently convenient pecuniary recepticle from the auricular organ of the genus suo."

I did not have at my command any source of information as to the time when the Baptist church was first organized in Illinois, nor the names of those who are entitled to that distinguished honor. But it is quite certain that they were here as early as any Protestant branch of the church. By the year 1834 that denomination included 19 associations, 195 associated and five unassociated churches, 146 preachers and 5,635 communicants. Eight hundred sixty-five persons were baptized and united with these churches in 1833. From the beginning they have been behind no other church in zeal for evangelical Christianity, in enterprise and in all that makes for religion, for morality individual and social integrity.

Possibly the most conspicuous character in the early history of the State of the Baptist church was the Rev. Dr. John M. Peck. He was a man of large physique and commanding presence. He was born at Litchfield, Conn., in 1789. Died at Rock Springs, St. Clair county, Ill., in 1858. He had received a good classical education, which, united with his rare natural gifts, gave him a place in the first rank among the great preachers of the State. Fifty years ago I heard him preach a most masterful sermon. The appearance of the speaker and the theme come up with wonderful distinctness as I write

these words. In forcefulness and executive ability he was to the Baptist church in Illinois what Peter Cartwright was to the Methodist church. He was the author of a number of valuable works.

From the exhaustive and invaluable history of the Presbyterian church in the State of Illinois, by Rev. A. T. Norton, D. D., published in 1879, we learn that the first Presbyterian minister who visited the Illinois country was John Evans Finley. He landed in Kaskaskia in 1797. The next Presbyterian ministers who set foot on Illinois territory were John F. Schemerhorn and Samuel J. Mills. They were licentiates, that is, were unordained preachers. They say in their report, "in the Illinois territory, containing more than 12,000 people, there is no Presbyterian, or Congregational minister." This was about 1812.

The church of Sharon, in what is now White county, is the oldest Presbyterian church in Illinois. It was organized by Rev. James McCready, in 1816. From that time Presbyterian churches were organized in many places. In 1834 they had one synod, five presbyteries, fifty churches and thirty-four ministers.

Rev. B. F. Spilman appears to have been to the Presbyterian church in pioneer times what Cartwright and Peck were to the Methodist and Baptist churches. Dr. Norton says, "Presbyterianism in Illinois owes much to B. F. Spilman. He was the pioneer in the State. For a time he was the only Presbyterian minister, connected with the assembly, residing and statedly laboring in this vast domain, now containing three synods, 11 presbyteries, 420 ministers, 487 churches and 43,987 members. All honor to the man who stands, instrumentally, at the head of these grand results." Rev. Samuel Giddings was in the territory as early as 1816, and was actively engaged in organizing churches in the vicinity of Kaskaskia. A score of illustrious names will occur that stand out conspicuous for ability, heroism and success in planting the church in our state in those trying times. Volumes might be written of Gideon Blackburn, Bergen, Ellis, Hale and many others whose praise is in all the churches.

I have no account of the organization of Congregational churches in Illinois. In 1834 there were three or four. For some years ministers and members of that church settling in Illinois usually united with the Presbyterian church.

In 1834 there were three Episcopalian churches in the State; one in Jacksonville, one in Rushville and one in Galena. Philander Chase was the first Bishop. He was succeeded by Bishop Whitehouse. He was a preacher of great ability, learning and activity.

In the Cumberland church, Rev. Mr. Berry deserves to be placed among the great leaders of the church in early times. He rightly takes place along with the most distinguished leaders of other churches of that time.

Very little time is left me for the presentation of the distinctive methods of evangelical work in Illinois in the early years of its history. Some characteristic methods were so very marked and general among all religious organizations, that we may profitably recall and consider them at this time.

The itinerant method was necessary and universal. The churches were few in membership, poor in means, and widely scattered. It was many years before any were able to support a settled pastor. The circuit plan was universal. The ministers of all churches belonged to the "traveling connection," as designated in Methodist parlance. In many instances their pulpit efforts partook of the same character. Announcing their text, "they went everywhere, preaching the word." Their preaching was largely doctrinal, polemical, and hortatory. Those early preachers believed some things. They had deep and clear convictions concerning the great truths they proclaimed. They accepted them as eternal verities. They concealed nothing that they found revealed in the Holy Scriptures. They offered no apology for their earnest proclamation. They did not suggest and foster unbelief by interjecting the vagaries of higher criticism; nor trifle with the eternal interests of their hearers by the introduction of silly, sensational, and sacreligious themes to attract a crowd. They did not dim the light of the Gospel by introducing the magic lantern, and the stereopticon.

Throughout the country a fierce controversy was raging upon some of the doctrines of the Bible. The preaching of the time was therefore marked by polemical tournaments. The Arminian and the Calvinist, the paedobaptist and the immersionist, often went to their pulpits with their war paint on, prepared to prove their doctrines orthodox by the Word of God, and under strong provocation, would not refrain from "blows and knocks."

The gift of exhortation was a distinguishing feature of the pulpit power of that time. Earnest exhortation followed every sermon. Frequently some one especially gifted in exhortation was chosen to follow the sermon with an application and appeal. The result was frequently tremendous. Multitudes of all classes would be moved as by an avalanche. Many persons prominent in business and professional callings were swept as by a resistless power into the experience of a new life. In many instances business men, physicians, and lawyers gave up their pursuits and at once began to preach the Gospel. Many of the ablest ministers of that time were recruited in that manner.

It should be remembered that for a long time there were no church buildings. Services were therefore held in a great variety of places. The log cabin of the backwoodsman being the usual sanctuary. Then the rude school house would be used for public worship. Barns were built with a large floor for threshing grain. These were also often used on special occasions. The advent of the World's Redeemer in a stable may have given special impressiveness to a Christian service held in such a place. Certain it is that sublime messages were delivered, and glorious results accrued under such surroundings. The campmeeting took its rise at that time. It was the natural outgrowth of existing conditions. A place would be selected affording shade and water. The plot of ground was arranged in the form of a parallelogram, with a large open space enclosed by tents. In this open space a rude platform for a pulpit was erected, in front and around which seats, made usually of rough lumber were placed. Sometimes a large pavilion was built covering considerable space. Various methods were used for lighting the camp at night. Sometimes a platform six or eight feet square, and supported by posts five or six feet high, located at several points, were built. The platform was covered with earth, and upon that a fire was kept burning. Sometimes lard oil lamps were used. A tin horn or shell was used to call the people together for worship. At times some difficulty was experienced in finding a man of sufficient bellows capacity to blow the instrument. In such cases a preacher would be called upon, because of his capacity for blowing, I suppose. The tents were often made of rough lumber. Sometimes of cloth. In some instances covered wagons were used for sleeping places. Cooking was done in the rear of tents, by fires made against large logs. The meetings usually lasted a week; sometimes two weeks.

Camp-meetings were often occasions of most wonderful moral and spiritual results. Frequently many hundreds were converted, and added to the church. Some very singular manifestations occurred in the form of a nervous excitement, called the "jerks." That convulsive or spasmodic action, under high spiritual excitement, was wholly uncontrollable, and affected alike ignorant and educated persons. It was very common, and prevailed in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The concensus of intelligent opinion, gathered from competent witnesses, from different churches, is that it was a supernatural manifestation. Another method that the early religious leaders employed was the circulation of good books. They believed that the reading of the people had much to do with their life and character. Hence they supplied the people with safe and stimulating books. Robust religious character and efficiency cannot be attained without the knowledge of the doctrines, and achievements of the church. Hence the church has wisely provided a supply of literature for her membership. It will be a sad misfortune when the reading of the church is confined to the current popular publications.

The last characteristic method of the early religious leaders of Illinois that I shall mention, is their promotion of education. This phase of churchly activity has been conspicuous everywhere from the beginning. The church has been the promoter of education. It has recognized the inseparable con-

nection between intelligence and the best type of piety. It has witnessed the dread folly of divorcing the intellect and the heart. Secular education, unaccompanied by moral influences, is more likely to prove a curse than a blessing. History abounds with instances confirmatory of this statement, both in communities and individuals.

Attention was early given to this work by all the churches, in Illinois in pioneer times. One of their first concerns was to plan for the establishment of schools. The interest that the State is taking in the matters of education is largely due to the influence of the churches. The State may wisely take a part in the education of the young, but it would be a lamentable mistake, and misfortune, for the church to relinquish all part in that fundamental interest.

The origin of the institution where we are now assembled is illustrative of the common sentiment of the churches at that time.

Mr. John M. Ellis graduated from Dartmouth college in 1822. He graduated from the theological seminary at Andover in 1825. From Dr. Norton's history we have the following account: "The day following his graduation at Andover, he was ordained in the Old South Church in Boston. Furnished with a hundred dollars as an outfit the young minister made his way in six weeks to Illinois. From Elias Cornelius he had received the charge "to build up an institution of learning which should bless the west for all time." In January 1828 he came to Jacksonville. Within a few days he purchased 80 acres of land and set stakes for a building. In a letter dated Jacksonville, Sept. 15, 1828, he says: A seminary of learning is projected to go into operation next fall. The subscription now stands at $2,000 or $3,000. The site is in this county. The half quarter section purchased for it is certainly the most delightful spot I have ever seen. This letter arrested the attention of young men in the divinity school at Yale college, and determined seven of them to a residence in Illinois, and to aid in the building up of the college. Two of them, Revs. Messrs. Sturtevant and Baldwin arrived in Jacksonville in November, and instruction in the college began the first of January. The designs which resulted in the Jacksonville Female Academy, and procured its beautiful grounds, were formed in his house.

A similar acccount could be given of the origin of McKendree college through Bishop McKendree; and the founding of Shurtleff college through the efforts of Dr. John M. Peck. The same is true of the younger and greater institutions of the State. They are the outgrowth of the enterprise of the churches.

From this brief and imperfect outline of the early religious leaders and methods in Illinois, we can realize in some measure at least, our great indebtedness to the heroic and selfsacrificing efforts of those who laid the foundations of our social, civil and religious institutions.

I will close my subject with the following extract from Washington's farewell address: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked; where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free govenment. Who that is a friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric."

THE FIRST IRISH IN ILLINOIS.

[Reminiscent of old Kaskaskia Days, by P. T. Barry.]

Individual Irishmen appeared early on the scene in Illinois. They came in a military capacity. Having no government of their own to serve, they served others. The Irishman who had the distinction of first figuring in our annals was a Chevalier Makarty, who succeeded LaBuissoniere in 1751, in the command of the first French fort erected in the Mississippi valley—that of Chartres. He came from New Orleans with a small military force, and remained in charge until 1761, when, having erected near the old stockade a grand new fortress of stone, he was relieved by Captain Noyen de Villiers, and returned to France.

Canada at that time extended to the Ohio river on the south and to the Mississippi on the west. There was not yet any map bearing the name of the empire state of the west. There was only a tribe of Indians inhabiting a portion of the immense northwest named the "Illini," that had its name given to the territory at the dividing up. Beyond the Mississippi was Spanish territory.

Under the French and Spanish systems of colonization at that date, Indian missions, military posts and towns went together. Old Kaskaskia, in what is now Randolph county, was the first seat of civilization in the great Mississippi basin, and was for a time the capital of the territory. Here many stirring events took place for many eventful years. In addition to a mission and a fort near by, it was made of greater importance with a legislature. Pere Marquette, the apostle of several states, laid its foundation in the year 1675, 100 years before the breaking out of the war for American independence. Here savages and whites commingled. Also, the soldiers of France, Great Britain and America. And wherever there are soldiers there is to be found the ubiquitous Irishman. There was to be found French contentment, savage resentment and pioneer endurance. Vincennes, Pittsburg and Detroit were its nearest neighbors on the great western expanse. But, like the sites of Tyre and Sidon, famous in ancient history, it exists no more, the encroaching waters of the Mississippi having washed it away and made it a memory.

After the capitulation of Quebec in 1763 the British claimed ownership of the whole of the French territory known as Canada, and prepared to garrison all the forts the French had erected, including Detroit, Peoria, Vincennes, Chartres, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, etc. The last named three were situated on the Mississippi river, and somewhat contiguous.

On the 27th day of February, 1764, a Major Loftus of the British army then on duty in Florida, was ordered to proceed to Fort Chartres and take possession of it. His name indicates his Irish origin, but if there be any mistake in this, there certainly was not in his soldiers. They were of the Twenty-second British regiment, and were mostly Irishmen. Here, then, was presented the peculiar spectacle of one Irish commander in the service of a country not his own being required to evacuate his command to another Irishman in the service of a different country not his own. It reminds the writer somewhat of the Siege of Quebec by Richard Montgomery, an Irishman in the service of the United States, when he asked its British commander, Sir Guy Carleton, another Irishman, and an old schoolmate, to surrender to the continental congress. But Major Loftus was not fortunate any more than General Montgomery. On the way, he and his command were attacked by the Indians, killing many of the soldiers, the remainder escaping down the Mississippi. Thus was the first Irish blood spilled in the Mississippi valley.

Then another Irish officer, also in the British service, named George Croghan, was ordered by Governor Murray to go forward and secure the desired possession. Croghan had been quite a conspicuous figure in the British interest in those days in America. He ranked as major, and had been for many years a trader among the western Indians. Hardly another white man was in the prairie country before him. In describing the country afterwards, he said it looked like an ocean. The ground was exceedingly rich and full of all kinds of game, and at any time, in half a hour, he could kill all he wanted.

He was commanded to go from Fort Pitt to make the way clear for the British advance to Forts Cahokia and Chartres. It was not the French alone that were to be considered, but the Indian Chieftains, as well. He first sent forward a Lieutenant Fraser to see the way clear, but the latter received rough treatment at Kaskaskia and returned unsuccessful. It was said that Chief Pontiac was egged on to kill him, but he escaped without serious injury. Then Col. Croghan, who was also a British Deputy Superintendent of Indian affairs, went forward himself. He left Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg) on May 15, 1765, accompanied by a party of friendly Indians. His progress was uninterrupted until he arrived at a small promontory on the Wabash, where he disembarked. On June 8, six miles below the stream he was suddenly attacked by a band of Kickapoos, 80 in number. In the fight which followed Croghan lost two white men and three Indians, while most of his party, including himself, were wounded. A surrender was unavoidable, and the victorious Kickapoos plundered the entire party. Subsequently the Indians confessed they had made a great mistake, and expressed sorrow for what had happened. They supposed, they said, that the friendly Indians accompanying Croghan were their deadly enemies, the Cherokees. They brought their prisoners in safety to Vincennes on the Wabash, where the Indians, many of whom had friendly acquaintance with Croghan, strongly condemned the Kickapoos, and the latter in turn expressed deep sorrow for what they persisted in calling a blunder. Further on the way he received a message from St. Ange, the French commander, cordially inviting him to advance to Fort Chartres. He proceeded but a short distance on his way, however, when he was met by a delegation of chiefs, representing various tribes of Indians, among whom was the hitherto implacable Pontiac, the great warrior, at the head of a large band of Ottawa braves, offering their services as an escort. At this juncture, and under this condition of things, Croghan did not deem it necessary to proceed further in person, the British claim to the territory being acknowledged by both French and Indians. This happy state showed that the Irishman must have used his diplomatic powers to excellent advantage. He then betook himself to Detroit to attend to other important business in the interest of his royal master, leaving his command in charge of another officer.

Accompanied by Pontiac, Croghan crossed to Ft. Miami and descending the Miami held conferences with the different tribes dwelling in the immense forests which sheltered the banks of the stream. Passing thence up the Detroit he arrived at the fort on the 17th of August, where he found a vast concourse of neighboring tribes. The fear of punishment and the long privations they had suffered from the suspension of their trade had banished every thought of hostility, and all were anxious for peace and its attendant blessings. After numerous interviews with the different tribes in the old town hall where Pontiac first essayed the execution of his treachery, Croghan called a final meeting on the 27th of August. Imitating the forest eloquence with which he had long been familiar, he thus addressed the convention:

"Children, we are very glad to see so many of you present at your ancient council fire, which has been neglected for some time past. Since then high winds have blown and raised heavy clouds over our country. I now, by this belt rekindle your ancient fires and throw dry wood upon them that the blaze may ascend to Heaven, so that all nations may see it and know that you live in peace with your fathers the English. By this belt I disperse all the black clouds from over your heads that the sun may shine clear on your women and children, and that those unborn may enjoy the blessings of this general peace, now so happily settled between your fathers the English and you and all your younger brethren toward the sunsetting."

PONTIAC'S REPLY.

"Father, we have all smoked together out of this peace pipe and as the great Spirit has brought us together for good, I declare to all the nations that I have made peace with the English. In the presence of all the tribes now assembled I take the king of England for my father and dedicate this to his use that henceforth we may visit him and smoke together in peace."

The object of Croghan's visit being thus accomplished he was prepared to depart, but before doing so he exacted a promise from Pontiac that the following spring he would appear at Oswego and enter into a treaty with Sir William Johnson in behalf of the western nations associated with him in the late war.

In September, 1768, came John Wilkins, Lieutenant Colonel of "His Majesty's Eighteenth or Royal regiment of Ireland," and commandant throughout the Illinois country. Several companies of this regiment came with him from Philadelphia and occupied quarters at Kaskaskia. The experience of those troops was not good, but it was common to that of all new comers in the aguish "American bottom." The sickness among them was not only very great, but very fatal. At one time, out of five companies, only a corpcral and six men were found fit for duty.

Captain Hugh Lord became the next commander of the Royal Irish regiment, and continued so until the year 1775. The British governor at Kaskaskia at this time was a Chevalier Rocheblave, strange to say a Frenchman. It was at this time that the colonists began to defy George III., and the Irish soldiers of the old French outposts were persistent in showing sympathy for them, and their leaning toward the American cause was such that poor old Rocheblave declared it worried him to see men of British birth giving him more trouble than the French. After a time most of the Irish soldiers of Britain were drawn off for service elsewhere, and the French residents were organized into militia. Their captain was one Richard McCarty, a resident of Cahokia. There was another McCarty who built a water mill on the Cahokia creek near Illinoistown at a later date, who was known as "English McCarty."

In 1778, Irish Americans began to appear on the scene, with the invasion of General George Rogers Clark, the Virginian. What Clark's ancestry was remains in some doubt. His biographer, English, thinks his ancestors came from Albion, but is able to give no particulars. The Scotch-Irish society claims that he is of Ulster blood. At any rate he conquered that portion of British territory that had formerly belonged to the French, and from which five sovereign states of the Union have been carved. His army was composed of Virginians and Pennsylvanians, many of whom were Irish either by birth or by blood. He was materially assisted by the French settlers, under the leadership of Father Gibault, the republican priest of Kaskaskia. To the latter and one Col. Francis Vigo, a native of Sardinia, who was married to an Irish lady (a Miss Shannon) was the success of the Virginian invasion mostly due, and the annexation of the prairie country to American territory. Clark affiliated very closely with the Irish. It is due to him to say that he was a brave and generous man, whose services to his young country can never be forgotten. His invasion of this wilderness and its conquest, it must be remembered, was under the direction of Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia, and to him alone he was responsible. The first of his Irish relatives to deserve notice was William Croghan, a nephew of Major George Croghan, the British officer already alluded to. He cherished no love in his heart for Great Britain or her monarch. He had resigned the British for the American service. He left Ireland for America when quite young, and was long in the employ of the British as an Indian agent, like his uncle. He joined the American forces at Pittsburg and witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. He married Lucy Rogers Clark, sister of the famous general. When he joined the American forces, he was assigned to Col. Werder's Virginia regiment, shortly after the battle of Long Island, and continued in active service for years. He was promoted to the rank of major in 1778, and was assigned to Col. John Neville's Fourth Virginia regiment and participated in the battle of Monmouth. He marched with the Virginia troops to Charleston, South Carolina, where the whole American army at that place was compelled to surrender to the enemy. In 1781 he was paroled and went to Virginia with his friend, Col. Jonathan Clark, brother of the general, and for a time was the guest of Cololonel Clark's father in Caroline county. It was there he met the woman who was destined to be his wife. He was afterwards a delegate

to the Kentucky convention of 1789 and 1790, and was one of the commissioners to divide the land allotted to the soldiers engaged in the conquest of the northwest. He left six sons and two daughters. One of his daughters became the wife of Thomas Jessup, adjutant-general U. S. A. His son George married a Miss Livingston of the noted New York family. This son George greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, and subsequently in the Mexican war. He was a major at the time of his defense of Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky, and congress presented him with a medal for his gallantry. A splendid monument has been erected to his memory at Fremont, Ohio. The elder Croghan died in 1822, and his widow in 1838.

Frances Eleanor Clark, youngest sister of the old hero, married Dr. James O'Fallon, whom the memoir says was a finely educated Irishman who came to America shortly before the revolution. He was an officer during the war for independence, and was the founder of the well-known O'Fallon family of St. Louis, and which has been so conspicuous in the history of that great city. There is also a town named after one of the members of this family in St. Clair county, this State. To his two nephews, John and Benjamin O'Fallon, General Clark willed 3,000 acres of land.

Another nephew and heir of the general, was George Rogers Clark Sullivan, who was honorably identified with Indiana affairs during the territorial period, and who left a long line of prominent descendants, after one of which is named Sullivan county in that state.

In Gen. George Rogers Clark's army for the conquest of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes were many men with Irish names, and when we take into account the Irish, then so very numerous in Pennsylvania and Virginia, it would not be surprising if one-half of it was composed of Irishmen and Irish-Americans. In this army were 236 privates, besides officers. Some of the names of the latter are as follows: Maj. Thomas Quirk (who was originally a sergeant in Captain McHarrod's company and rendered some military service on the frontier before and after the Illinois campaign.) Clark's biographer says "Quirk was a brave and fine looking Irishman." He died in Louisville, Kentucky, in the fall of 1803. He was allotted 4,312 acres of land for his valuable army services.

Capt. John Montgomery, who is stated in one place to be "an Irishman full of fight," was one of Clark's most valued officers, and had been one of the celebrated party of "Long Hunters."

Col. John Campbell, who was one of the commissioners for the allotment of Clark's land grant of 149,000 acres, to the men engaged in his Illinois campaigns, was an Irishman by birth, and a man accredited with much force of character. He was a member of the Kentucky convention of 1792, and a member of the legislature. He died without issue. After Campbell came James F. Moore, Alexander Breckenridge, Richard Taylor and Robert Breckenridge, as land commissioners. James F. Moore had been a soldier under Clark, and also, subsequently, a member of the Kentucky house of representatives. Here are names that are suggestive of subsequent presidents of the United States. Richard Taylor was a native of Virginia, of Irish extraction. He removed in 1785 to Kentucky; was a soldier of the revolution holding the rank of lieutentant-colonel at its close. He was the father of the hero of the Rio Grande, Gen. Zachary Taylor, and twelfth president of the United States. Robert Breckenridge, also of Irish extraction, was a member of the Kentucky legislature, and speaker of the house of representatives several times. He was the ancestor of John C. Breckenridge, vice-president with James Buchanan, and subsequently a presidential candidate, himself.

Colonel Archibald Lochrey was county lieutenant of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, and started with his command from Carnahan's blockhouse August, 1781, to join General Clark's Illinois forces, with a company of volunteer riflemen raised by Captain Robert Orr; two companies of rangers under Captain Thomas Stockley, and a company of horse under Captain William Campbell, for the reduction of Detroit, then in the possession of the British. Stockley was met and defeated by Indians in the British service

In fact, the whole of Colonel Lochrey's expedition was defeated, 41 men being killed, and the rest taken prisoners. When certain facts with regard to the British forces became known at Kaskaskia, it was determined to raise a small American force and make a raid against Fort St. Joseph, a British post situated on the St. Joseph river. The company consisted of only 17 men and was commanded by Thomas Brady, a patriotic Irish-American citizen of Cahokia, who had emigrated hither from Pennsylvania, and who was described as being "both restless and daring." He marched across the country in October and succeeded in eluding the Indian guards and capturing the place, taking a few British prisoners, together with a large quantity of goods. Being overconfident, on his return he was attacked by a force of Pottawattomies and British traders, hastily organized for the purpose, and while laying encamped on the Calumet river, near Chicago, was defeated. Two of his men were killed, two wounded and ten taken prisoners. Brady, with two others, succeeded in making their escape, and returned to Cahokia. But he did not rest until he organized another expedition to rescue his friends and avenge his defeat. He was joined by a party of Spaniards from the west side of the Mississippi, the Spanish territory, and retook the place without striking a blow, and the Spanish flag for a short time replaced the British. The event was a small one, but Spain had the cheek to demand the country on account of it.

This Thomas Brady, and one William Arundel (an Irishman from Canada, and an Indian trader in Cahokia in 1783), and Captain Richard McCarty, already mentioned, and a small party of hunters that joined General Clark's expedition in 1778, were the only white men in Illinois territory besides the French Canadians, and a few old soldiers, at the time of Clark's conquest. They resided at Cahokia. Brady was afterwards sheriff of St. Clair county.

Among other names of officers that are likely to have been Irish or Irish-American in Clark's army, are those of Colonel Benjamin Logan, Captain John Bailey, Captain Robert Orr, Captain William Campbell, Colonel William Davis, Lieutenant Martin Carney, Thomas Dalton and Major Denny.

General Clark wrote a letter to the Governor of Virginia (Patrick Henry) from Kentucky on Oct. 12, 1782, in which he said, "I had the pleasure of receiving your letter by Major Walls and Mr. Kearney, the 30th of July past, at which time the gentlemen arrived with stores all safe, after surmounting uncommon difficulties. They arrived in time to save troops from deserting." This shows that the Irish were pretty well in evidence both in Virginia and the northwest at that period.

Subjoined is a list of the privates taken from one page only of the printed roster of Clark's soldiers of the Illinois expedition, that were entitled to receive, each, 108 acres of land, as printed in English's life of General Clark: Moses Lunsford, Abraham Lusado, Richard Luttrell, John Lyons, Joseph Lyne, Francis McDermott, David McDonald, John McGar, Alex. McIntyre, Geo. McMannus Sr., John McMannus Jr., Samuel McMullen, James McNutt, Florence Mahoney, Jonas Manifee, Patrick Marr, Charles Martin, Nathaniel Mersham, Abraham Miller, John Montgomery, James Monroe, John Moore, Thos. Moore, John Murphy and Edward Murray.

James Curry was the name of one of Clark's soldiers who proved himself a rather extraordinary fellow, and a fearless pioneer. A band of Indians had wounded a comrade of his named Levi Teel, in his own house, when Curry was present. Seeing the enemy coming he jumped up into the loft of the house, with the hope of driving them away before Teel could have time to open the door to admit them. He shot three times and killed an Indian every time. He then got down to see what had happened to Teel, and found him transfixed by one of his hands with a spear to the floor. Curry got up again into the loft and tumbled the whole roof down, weight poles and all, on the Indians, who were standing at the door with spears in their hands. Their chief was killed, and the others ran away. Curry hurried to Kaskaskia for help, and at last saved himself and companions from death. He was at the capture of Fort Gage and Sackville, the names given by the British to the old French forts. Curry was a great athlete, contending in all sorts of games,

and was not unlike Thomas Higgins, another great Irish fighter of a later date. In all desperate and hazardous services, Clark chose him, first of all, to act in places of peril and danger. Curry and Joseph Anderson, who afterwards lived and died on Nine Mile creek, Randolph county, were out hunting, and the Indians, it is supposed, killed Curry, as he went out from their camp and never returned. This was the sad end of one of our bravest and most patriotic Irish-American heroes, "the noble hearted James Curry," as he is styled in history, and whose services were so conspicuous in the conquest of Illinois. His body was never recovered.

Edward Bulger was a private in Captain Joseph Bowman's company in the Illinois campaign. He was afterwards an ensign in Captain William Harrod's expedition against Vincennes, and in General Clark's first expedition against the Indians in Ohio. He was mortally wounded in the Battle of Blue Licks, 1782, at which time he had been promoted to the rank of major. He was one of the early explorers of Kentucky, where he was with Wite, Bowman and others in the spring of 1775. These were probably the first white visitors to what subsequently became Warren county. Hugh Lynch was another of this party, and William Buchanan another. Daniel Murray was the name of an Irishman who supplied provisions for Clark's Illinois army.

One of the forgotten names of men who did great service to the republic in the Revolutionary war was Oliver Pollock, an Irishman born. He performed the same kind of service in the west that Robert Morris performed in the east. He financed General Clark's military campaign in Illinois and Indiana and without his aid they must have been failures. He was born in Ireland in the year 1737 and came to America with his father. On account of his intimacy with General O'Reilly, who was then governor of Cuba, he was able to borrow from the royal treasury of Spain the sum of $70,000, which he lent to the State of Virginia for Clark's use in the campaigns mentioned. He was not reimbursed, and consequently was not able to make good what he had borrowed, which caused his arrest and imprisonment in Havana. He died in Mississippi in 1823.

In 1778, when Clark was approaching Kaskaskia to surprise the British, then in possession of the fort, he took two men from that party of American hunters led by one John Duff, that he met on the way, to act as his spies. They had left Kaskaskia but a few days before. These men were Jas. Moore and Thomas Dunn, as to whose nationality, from their names, there can be no mistake.

General St. Clair, a Scotsman, was afterwards military commander of the northwest. He was succeeded by General Anthony (Mad Anthony) Wayne, an Irishman born, who conducted the war with the Indians in 1791. Under St. Clair the battle of Ft. Henry was fought and resulted in a great American disaster. But General Wayne gained a great victory at the Maumee Rapids on August 20, 1794, which led to the suspension of hostilities.

One of the authorities that we have recourse to in writing these annals is the "Pioneer History of Illinois," by ex-Governor John Reynolds, a man of Irish parentage, born in Pennsylvania, and who filled nearly every office, legislative, judicial, and administrative in the State of Illinois. His place of residence was Cahokia, a short distance south of St. Louis, on the Illinois side.

John Reynolds, in his "Pioneer Days," described his father as "an Irishman who hated England with a ten-horse power," and there is no surmise in saying that he himself hated her just as much, as he was an ardent admirer of "Old Hickory." Neither did he want to be set down as an Anglo-Saxon. He repulsed the insinuations in the following emphatic language:

"Our old enemies, the English, and their American friends, give us the name of New Anglo-Saxons. It is true the most of the Americans are the descendants of Europeans, but the preponderance of blood is not of the Anglo-Saxon race. There are more of the descendants of the Irish and Germans in the United States than the English." If that were true 70 years ago, certainly it is more true now.

We have already alluded, in connection with Curry's achievements as an Indian fighter, to the name of Tom Higgins. One of his noted encounters with Indians, is described in Governor Reynolds' book, with thrilling effect. This noted Irish-American pioneer resided in Fayette county for many years, where he raised a large family, and died in 1829. He received a pension, pursued farming, and at one time was doorkeeper of the general assembly at Vandalia.

John Edgar was a merchant at Kaskaskia, and at that time the richest man in the territory. His wife was a lady of rare talents, and presided over the finest and most hospitable mansion in Kaskaskia. At this house was entertained General LaFayette, when he visited this country in 1825. Mr. Edgar's memory is honored by having an Illinois county named for him.

In Mrs. Robert Morrison, Kaskaskia possessed another lady of Irish ancestry, who was an ornament to Illinois society at that early day. Mrs. Morrison was reared and educated in the city of Baltimore, and in 1805 she accompanied her brother Colonel Donaldson, to St. Louis; then in the far-off wilds of the west, whither he was sent as a commissioner to investigate the title lands. She was married the following year to Robert Morrison of Kaskaskia, which place became her residence thereafter. Well educated, sprightly and energetic, she possessed a mind gifted with originality, imagination and romance. Her delight was in the rosy field of poetry. Her pen was seldom idle. She composed with a ready facility and her writings possessed a high degree of merit. Her contributions to the scientific publications of Mr. Welch of Philadelphia, and other periodicals of the period, in both verse and prose, were much admired. Nor did the political discussions of her day escape her ready pen. She was a member of the Roman Catholic communion, and shed lustre on her co-religionists. The Morrison family is one of the best known politically and socially in the State. While Mrs. Edgar entertained General LaFayette at a grand reception, Mrs. Morrison entertained him with a grand ball on the occasion referred to in the foregoing.

The territory of Illinois was organized on the 16th day of June, 1809. Michael Jones and E. Backus were appointed respectively registrar and receiver of the land office in Kaskaskia. At this time one McCawley, an Irishman, had penetrated further into the interior of the territory than anyone else—to the crossing of the Little Wabash by the Vincennes road.

The writer cannot resist the temptation to relate an anecdote of General James Shields, a hero of the Mexican war, who cut so conspicuous a figure in old Kaskaskia days. The anecdote he related himself, in a lecture delivered in Chicago shortly before his death. He arrived in Illinois on foot soon after he left Ireland for America, looking for employment. On the way, he fell in with a young man engaged in a similar pursuit, and who was companionable, so they traveled together. Reaching Kaskaskia, Mr. Shields secured employment there, as a school teacher, and remained. His companion was not so successful, and went on, traveling in the direction of St. Louis. Shields rapidly rose from one position of distinction to another, and when the Mexican war was declared he was filling the position of a land commissioner at Washington. He hastened to Kaskaskia with President Polk's commission in his pocket, to raise an Illinois regiment, of which he was to be colonel. He was successful in this, went to Mexico, and distinguished himself in several battles, in one of which he was supposed to be mortally wounded, but recovered. He became a general and a hero. When the war was over and he returned to the United States he was lionized and invited to a number of state fairs and cities as an attraction. St. Louis honored him in this way, and made unusual preparations for his reception. The mayor and corporation went out to receive him. His reception was most cordial. The mayor, Hon. John M. Krum, grasped him warmly by the hand and looked him significantly in the face. "Do you not know me, general?" he asked. "I do not, Mr. Mayor, who are you?" "I am the man who tramped with you to Kaskaskia, many years ago, and walked on to St. Louis."

"Good God! I am delighted to see you," was the exclamation of his distinguished guest.

The Irish not only made history in those early days, but have also written it. To the pen of John B. Dillon of Indiana, we are indebted for the best history of the northwest; to John Gillmary Shea of New York we are under obligation for a complete knowledge of the early Catholic missions among the Indians, and ex-Governor Reynolds has narrated for us our own pioneer story, with its grotesque conditions, its many deprivations and numerous deeds of daring. For many of the incidents in this essay, especially those relating to General George Rogers Clark and his men, and the conquest of the northwest, I am indebted to the "*Life* of General Clark," by a Mr. English of Indiana.

Were it not for the fear of making this essay too long, I might show how 15 to 20 names of Illinois counties have Irish associations; what prominent parts Irishmen and the sons of Irishmen of Illinois took in the war of 1812, the Black-Hawk war, the Mexican war and the war of the rebellion; how they filled gubernatorial chairs, prominent positions in State and nation, as the representatives of the people; how they have been foremost in the professions of law, medicine and divinity. On the muster roll of famous men they have three Logans, the two Reynolds, Carlin, Kinney, Ford, Kane, Shields, Ewing, McLaughlin, Mulligan, Medill, Ryan, and many others too numerous to mention. Not as public and professional men alone has the Irish contingent been valuable to the State of Illinois, but also as tillers of the soil, as miners and manufacturers; for in the infantile condition of our commonwealth the men of hardest muscle and most exacting toil were our Irish immigrants. They did the excavating on our canals, and the grading on our first railroads, and wherever hard work was to be performed, there you were sure to find Paddy with his spade and pipe. May I not claim that that herculean form representing "the Digger," in the statue of Mulligan, standing at the entrance of the drainage canal, near Chicago, answers for the Irish canaler of former as well as later days?

Nearly 50 years ago Thomas D'Arcy McGee, an American Irish poet, and at the time of his death a leading statesman of Canada, of wide fame and renowned memory, wrote of the Irish prairie farmer in Illinois as follows:

" 'Tis ten long years since Eileen bawn
    Adventured with her Irish boy
Across the seas and settled on
    A prairie farm in Illinois.

"Sweet waves the sea of Summer flowers
    Around our wayside cot so coy,
Where Eileen sings away the hours
    That light my task in Illinois.

    Chorus—

"The Irish homes of Illinois,
The happy homes of Illinois,
    No landlord there
    Can cause despair,
Nor blight our fields in Illinois!"

ILLINOIS AND ITS PEOPLE.

By George Murray McConnel. (Read also, by invitation, before the Chicago Historical Society, April 18, 1902).

Before I try to say anything on the subject of "The People of Illinois, their Home, their Origins and Some of their Traits," the theme on which I propose to offer you a few random reflections, permit me to publicly express my deep sense of the compliment implied in being permitted to appear before you at all. An engrossing vocation, trying to fill one or another editorial place in the daily journalism of a large city, and that largely on the artistic or ornamental side of life, binds the active thinking of the average man too closely to the current process of making history, for him to give much study to history that has long been made. When I had the honor of

being permitted to talk to you two years ago in Peoria I approached the privilege with no little trepidation, and it was, therefore, with the deepest gratification that I received permission to stand before you on this occasion, and learned thereby that I had not been wholly forgotten, or rather that the theme upon which I then spoke to you had left some impression in your minds. You will, I am sure, understand the gratification it must be to any one to be thus practically assured that anything he has said has been considered worthy of being remembered. I beg to assure you that I am far from insensible of the compliment.

I mean now to address to you some reflections that have drifted across my thought from time to time touching our State, its people, the sources whence they sprung, some of the conspicuous results to their character, with probably more or less reference to some of the occasions when those traits were manifested in action. Let me say at once, however, that I shall deal very little, if at all, with dates or statistics, or only in the most cursory and general way. It is impossible for me, even if I were intellectually equipped for the task, to devote the necessary time to the study demanded of one who would follow out any closely argued statistical theme. I look upon myself rather in the light of an entertainer than an instructor, and shall try not to be tedious enough to fall without the limits of my own definition.

There are few things, in this world in which we live, more impressive than a great river, and the valley, at once dominant and tributary, through which it flows. We stand upon its banks and as its flood pours steadily by, unhasting and unresting, he must be little thoughtful to whom there does not come the reflection that even as he sees it today it has flowed for uncounted ages in the past and must flow through the uncountable aeons of the future. The ocean is grander, a faint image of eternity. But the ocean is impersonal. It rolls around the globe its "grey and melancholy waste," while the thunder of its surges is for all the families of men. The river is personal, in a large sense, to its valley, and to no other part of the world. Through this valley it flows on age after age, watering and enlivening and making habitable, bringing its people into close relations, greeting them a constant and unfailing friend from youth to hoary age.

In any great valley it is always the most conspicuous object, partly because it is practically central, and partly because it is one which, at least in one dimension, men's eyes may see and their minds grasp. And so we always speak of the valley as the valley of the river, and in the common mind perhaps there is the more or less vague impression that the valley exists because of the river—that the river made the valley. This is not the fact. The river may, often does, make a gorge or a canon. It never makes the valley. It is the valley that makes the river. Other great natural causes first determine what the valley shall be, and then the valley determines what the river shall be.

The Mississippi is one of the great rivers of the world. In some of its attributes it is the greatest of the world's rivers. Take your map of North America and look at it. I do not deal in exact figures, but from Lake Glazier to the gulf it rolls through more than 2,000 miles of the richest country on the globe. Eastward it reaches with its long arm, the Ohio, something like 1,000 miles into the Pennsylvania hills, and from the west it draws through the turbulent Missouri into its gulfward flow the water that fell in glittering crystals on the peaks of the Rockies 3,000 miles away from where they impinge on the Illinois shore and are turned finally to the tropical gulf. Besides these the map will show you a score or more of other arms, reaching hundreds of miles away into all parts of the great basin, significant in the deepest sense of the homogenity of the basin itself. And among all these branching arms there are found all varieties of character. The placid Illinois glides peacefully through smiling savannahs and blends smoothly as the passage of a dream with the southward flow, while in the next breath the mighty Missouri, after rioting across thousands of miles of mountain and plain, plunges fiercely into the same flow as if it would cut its way, like a colossal sabre, across Illinois, and push violently through to the sea somewhere along the Carolina or Georgia coast. But the conformation of the valley forbids—silently opposes itself to the riot of the current, bends it to its unshrinking will, and sends it,

chafing but obedient, along the foreordained pathway to the gulf. All these streams alike, limpid or turbid, swift or sluggish, placid or fierce, are bent to the same silent but imperious will, each exercising its apt and proportioned influence on the character of the final result, but all inexorably blended into the imposing river which rolls through the Louisiana cane and cotton fields a current mighty enough to engulf the dome of the national capitol, a tremendous force and volume which would not be all they are and exactly what they are, without all these contributions, with all their varying peculiarities, and none of which, neither contributions nor the colossal unit they make, could be at all except for the huge basin they drain with all its immensity of area all its endless wealth of resources.

In many respects it is the most wonderful basin in the globe. The valley of the Nile once dominated the historic movement of the world, yet beside that where we dwell it was always a mere ribbon of verdure, less than a Vermont pumpkin patch beside the vast wheat fields of the Dakotas. The valley of the Amazon surpasses it in some respects, but it is a wild, tropical tangle, which man yet sees no way to subdue to his uses. No part of our basin is shut out from man's uses. It is the natural seat of an empire vaster and more powerful than the world has known—vaster even than that which dimly dawned on Berkeley's poetic—and prophetic—vision.

Turn again to the map, and see where Illinois sits enthroned in this more than imperial domain. Leaning her shoulder against one of the great inland seas which lie like a huge chain half across the continent, she stretches something like 400 miles along the east side of the central river, holding within her single grasp the only method of linking that river with that chain of "unsalted seas," resting her foot on the great river's greatest eastern tributary, and calmly facing the impetuous rush of that mightiest of tributary rivers that pours down from the far off golden mountains of the west. Remote from the ocean which is the highway of nations for mutual injury as well as benefit, she is yet in touch with it by either of two ways, one of which she has it in her power to command absolutely as an approach, and may readily be scarcely less potent over the other. She sits at the very heart of this mighty seat for empire, herself the richest portion of it in varied resources of wealth, and touching the chief channels of much the larger part of it for communication with the rest of the world. She is herself its heart, made so by the cosmic causes that made it a seat of empire, dowered forever by those causes, with a commanding voice in the shaping of our imperial future.

Position on the surface of the globe has always been a potent factor in determining the weight that any people may exert in the world's affairs. The Alps have gone far to make the Switzer what he is, rugged and freedom loving, but the very barriers that bred his virile independence and helped him to maintain it against Charles of Burgundy and all the rapacious of history since his day, precluded the mountaineers from taking any great affirmative part in world movements. Position likewise defended England, but in her case the means of defence she made her means of reaching all other shores, till her maritime power stands guard forever at every other nation's door. It can not but be true that the nature, character and resources of the seat of any people exercise an enormous influence on the development of the character of that people. In the old days, when war and conquest was the business of every people gifted with any strength for any purpose, wealth was not sought for its power but only for the indulgences it would buy. It was a means to luxury only, and luxury, when made an end, means deterioration. In those days wealth was weakness, and the plunderer followed in due and inevitable course. The touch of the modern commercial spirit, breeding increasing wants among men, changed all this as if by magic. Wealth became a century or two ago first the servant and then the ally of power. In our day it is power.

"Ill fares that land to gathering ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates and men decay"

sang the poet of the eighteenth century. Yes—where men decay. But it is the use that men make of wealth that determines whether it shall minister to

their decay. The men who accumulate wealth in modern conditions do not use it for luxury in the sense of the old days. They are not milk sops nor dandies. As a rule they are men of daring and they use their wealth for ends which, while they may, indeed, still further enrich the men themselves, are none the less world's ends, that everywhere broaden man's horizon and open the way to still higher ends.

Here on the exhaustless prairies of Illinois, skirted by the great natural highways of the continent, lying at the very heart of the most unbroken imperial domain in the temperate zone, where, only, men really mature, is sure to be the ultimate center of American wealth and power, already forshadowed by the wonderful development of the State's chief city, Chicago, and if of America, then of the world, because America already leads the world in wealth, and if in wealth, then in power, which in modern civilization is the ally and the creation of wealth. This is the home we have inherited.

But in order that advantage shall be taken of this or any other part of the world we inhabit, it is necessary that those who occupy it must possess the elements of strong character and of growth.

Before the white man came into this region at all, these broad prairies were probably occupied by many thousands of red men. But they warred among themselves. Between the strong confederation of the Iroquois in the far northeast and the unconfederated but fierce tribes of the northwest, the tribes of the Illinois or Illini, had been crushed and wasted. The possession of the wealth which even they were able to draw from this teeming region had exerted on them the deteriorating influence it has always exerted on primative man, white as well as red, before he has learned the great lesson of using it not as an end in itself but as a means to other ends. Its possession became a temptation to Sioux and Iroquois, and they both preyed on it and exterminated its possessors. When that heroic churchman, Father Marquette, first of all white men penetrated these wilds in 1673, he found red men, indeed, but they were few in number, scattered, weak, terrorized, marked unmistakably for early extinction. They knew not how to use the heritage they possessed, and in the course of nature—for that is her course, blink it how we may—it was inevitable that they must give way to those who better knew its use.

Marquette, and LaSalle a decade later, found it a sort of debatable land, its long time people wasted and decaying, and both the Iroquois and the northwestern tribes using it only for predatory incursions, though the Iroquois long afterwards claimed conquest by virtue of these plundering raids.

Canada had long been in French possession, and long before they were there the Spanish had seated themselves in Mexico and sent expeditions, marauding expeditions largely, though not wholly such, as far northeast as into what is now Kansas. The discoveries of LaSalle soon set his people in motion toward the gulf coast, resulting in the settlements in New Orleans which gradually spread to the northward. The discoveries of Marquette set in motion another movement from Canada toward the Illinois country.

These two movements sprang from the same source in Europe, but they seem to have been actuated by widely differing aims, and were conducted in widely differing methods. The southern immigrants from France were largely colonists in a true sense. They established communities and a family life, and while they traded largely with the red men, they worked more toward gradually pushing forward into the wilderness communities of their own blood. They were all good churchmen indeed, but they seem never to have fallen under the same intimate Parisian and church management that so closely followed up and hampered the French occupation of Canada. They never developed any such class as the hardy *coureurs de bois* who went out from Canada into the wilds and drew the red man's trade to Montreal and Quebec.

Parkman has made it clear how the French monarchs, influenced actively by the church, dreamed, indeed, of a great French kingdom in New France, but it was to be almost wholly a kingdom gallicized—and more or less christianized—red men, and not a new kingdom of Frenchmen, except enough to establish and hold military posts and churchly mission stations. Hence they

did not encourage, but rather discouraged, emigration from France, in a true sense, and except for the few earlier French settlements in far northeastern Canada, little of French community life sprung up along the lakes. One result of this wofully mistaken policy was the development of such men as the *coureurs de bois*, hardy, daring, enterprising in a way that seems queer to an Englishman, but not family nor community men, taking on with qualities of hardihood and self-reliance, independence of all the restraint and order of civilized society, almost savagely impatient of control.

Here were two differing kinds of Frenchmen slowly pushing toward the Illinois country, one of them remaining where they came, and the other coming and going, but more or less drawn by the attractions of companionship, gradually drifting into the Illinois region and mingling their blood in marriage among their countrymen who had reached the same region by way of the southern gulf.

Meantime Spanish ownership of the west side of the great river above what is now Louisiana, for a time, brought into the same or nearby region, another branch of European lineage. It looked as if providence, or destiny, had opened the way, by the practical removal of the red man, for the erection of a great Latin power which should girdle and choke the feeble English communities along the Atlantic, a kind of re-incarnation of the once conquering Latin race. And so it might, had the French king addressed himself to pouring into the region through both gateways the surplus population of France, eager enough to go, and not weakly frittered away his opportunities in idle dreams of a great empire of red Frenchmen, or, more properly, of red Christians under French tutelage.

But it was not to be. The rugged, iron nature of Puritan New England held French power in Canada by the throat, till Wolfe broke it forever on the plains of Abraham, and meanwhile, over the mountain gaps of Carolina and Virginia, there began to slowly trickle the advance guard of that strange, strenuous mingling of the Kelt and the Saxon—the fiery enthusiasm of the one backed by the unshrinking tenacity of the other—commonly known to us as the Scotch-Irish—the advance guard of that people who never relaxed their grip on Tennessee and Kentucky, who turned back only once in the long struggle, when they struck a crushing blow to British power at King's mountain, and have never failed to make a deep and lasting impression on every people with whom they have mingled. By and by the united power of the sturdy Pennsylvania German, the curiously mingled Dutch-Saxon-Swede from New Jersey and New York, and the alert and restless Yankees into whom the Puritans had blossomed, burst through the narrow gateway between Lake Erie and the Ohio, long and stubbornly contested by the red races, and then Scotch-Irish, and Kelt and Saxon and German, and Dutchman and Englishman, all modified and intensified by the vivid sky and vivid air of America, began to pour over the Illinois prairies, mingle with the little French communities and scattered Spanish along the State's western border, and all to absorb and reabsorb and be absorbed by each other, never losing out of the resultant the potency of any single one of the constituent ingredients. They began, in other words, that most marvelous of all natural processes, the evolution of a new racial type through the disintegration, the combination and reintegration of distinct types of race. The evolution of a new racial type in which there sleeps, ready to flash out on occasions, the potency of every trait of each one of the original constituents, all modified by their new internal relations, and all slowly settling into some definite form of activity in combination, which is the new race.

In this new race nothing is lost from any of the old. Some of the traits of the smaller in number will seem to be lost, as a little white powder seems lost when dissolved in a goblet of water. But it is not lost. The water is not the same as before, though it may look the same. It has some new property that it did not have before, and when fitting occasion comes that property will assert itself. So all these races furnished traits and tendencies and capacities and adaptabilities, every one of which has gone into the strain of blood, there to exert more or less influence for good or ill.

From the end of the Revolution until toward the middle of the 19th century the population of Illinois grew but slowly, comparatively, that is to say. There are five times as many people today in Chicago alone as there were in the whole State in 1840. This afforded time for the more thorough amalgamation of the various strains that came early within its borders. It furnished the broad foundations with which subsequent accretions were forced to mingle. It furnished the assimilating power to impart tone and character color to all that came after. In no other State in the Union, I believe, is the population of so variously composite a character. It is composite in all, but in none more than in Illinois. In our blood there is, more or less, a strain of that of the chivalric, pleasure and art loving French; the picturesquely aggressive Scotch-Irish—itself, by the way, a composite racial type; the sturdy, undying tenacity of the Anglo-Saxon; the brave, prudent, thoughtful, fore handed German; the stubborn, freedom loving, astute Dutchman; the alert, active, resourceful, tireless Yankee; the canny Scot; the free handed, hot blooded, gamecock of all the races, the Irishman—all now saturated, animated, inspired by that wonderful state building genius which characterizes and moves in varying degrees all the Teutonic races. No people on earth are inheritors of more varieties of all the multiform gifts and capacities of the human family, the outcome of which is civilization under ordered law.

It is worth at least passing notice that there seems to have been another example of what we call providential ordering in the way the early American population came into the State. The southern half of it held a very respectable and thrifty population when the northern half was yet an unpeopled wilderness. As late as 1836, or thereabouts, when the State mapped out that then colossal system of railways and canals then called the Internal Improvement system, the line of railway projected where much of the main line of the Wabash railways now lies, passing through this then little village and through what is now the State capital, was called "The Northern Cross Railroad." The bulk of the population lay south of it. Now, it is to the majority of Illinoisans, rather a Southern Cross Railroad. This early population, largely made up from that same Scotch-Irish element and its immediate associates, filtered into the State from Virginia and the Carolinas, through Tennessee and Kentucky. Had the northeastern people earlier broken down the stubborn Indian resistance to the westward movement in Ohio and Indiana, it is highly probable, to say the least, that most of this Tennessee and Kentucky contribution to the peopling of Illinois would have been deflected and thrown further to the south and west. In such a contingency we would have lost, wholly or in large part, one of the most valuable, one of the most sturdy, aggressive and essentially American elements of our people. The mingling of this element with those who came later influenced decisively the development of the State into a great healthfully and practically conservative power in the nation. It furnished to us, for example, in his early boyhood, the great statesman who guided the nation through the greatest of all civil wars. It is a glory nearly equally divided that he had his birth in that southern immigration, and that it was here in an Illinois environment that he was developed into transcendent greatness, and in his career is a type of that Illinois power of development. It is so placed and endowed by nature and so prodigally peopled from all aggressive races, that, given the occasion and the opportunity, it develops and makes manifest the best in any man in whom dwells the seeds of any evolution.

This, then, is the State, dowered by nature with commanding position and all the elements that make for the growth of power, and peopled by a race which is the resultant from the peaceable and unforced mingling, in varying proportions, of nearly all the affirmative and progressive peoples of civilization.

Shall we not take a little more time, and by glancing at certain of their acts, telling perhaps an incident or two, see whether what they have done in some more or less crucial circumstances bears out the indicated theory of what they are and the commanding force they yet may be?

We would naturally expect such a people, compounded of the most active and enterprising strains of blood from so many active races, to be bold, self-

reliant, aggressive and combative. Passing so much of their time in the independence of isolation, they were long impatient of the restraints necessary in towns and other clustered communities, and hence every day that found many of them drawn together, as Saturdays usually did, and do still in slowly lessening degree, was more or less prolific of rough fighting between individuals. In my boyhood in this now peaceful city, the Saturday that passed without such rencontres was rare indeed. Amusements were scanty. Nobody, practically, engaged in furnishing them as a business. There was usually one, sometimes there were two circus days in a year, and these amusement caterers came from far away places. Men and women were obliged to furnish their own amusements, and in truth they were scanty enough. Children's books were practically unknown. Toys were even less known. Even in my day—and I was not born till Illinois had been many years a State—if I wanted a kite or a top, or a sled, or a wagon, or a bow and arrows, I had to manufacture them for myself. In Jacksonville the old "corporation post" stood at the corner of the Rockwell place, and from there to the "big tree" then in front of the Duncan place, was called half a mile, and every Saturday afternoon West State street for that distance, then simply "the Naples road," was a race track were there where tumultuous racing of horses and brawls without end.

Since the world began the progressive peoples have been the fighting peoples. The composite race that grew out of the many elements drawn to Illinois has been conspicuous, as a thinker might have expected, for fighting courage.

Nearly 30 years after Illinois became a State she was called on to furnish soldiers for our little war with Mexico. In the wonderful battle of Buena Vista she was represented by two regiments of foot, Col. John J. Hardin's, and Col. William H. Bissell's. By some misunderstanding of orders an Indiana regiment was posted out of supporting distance, and when assailed by a force five or more times larger, it was literally forced out of its position, though its men never left the field nor ceased fighting in the ranks of other organizations.

This left the force of the exulting column of the enemy to fall on Colonel Bissell, posted some half a mile to the rear, but even there nearly out of supporting distance. The story of the strenuous racing of other troops, the First Illinois among them, to their support, thrilling as the blast of the trumpet, I do not tell. I only tell what happened to Bissell and his men. General Taylor saw that before those racing friends could reach them they must be struck and probably crushed, and an aide rode at speed to where Bissell calmly sat on his horse in rear of his regiment, directing its fire. He checked his foaming horse beside Bissell and with eager face and sinking heart, said:

"General Taylor's compliments and asks if you can take the ground to the rear without danger of another panic?"

Bissell straightened himself in his saddle, saluted and replied:

"As surely, sir, as upon regimental drill."

"Then do so," said the aide, "but do it at your peril!"

Without a word Bissell rode close to his line, passed along it the order to "cease firing," then as the fire ceased, lifted his sword, commanded, "about face," scanned the line as the men swung on their heels, shouted "forward —steady men, steady—march!" and as they moved he slowly turned his horse and rode at a walk in their, then reversed, front, the aide riding beside him hat in hand, and measuring the distance with his eye between advancing friends from one way and advancing foes from the other. When he thought enough space covered to meet support in time, he said tremulously—it was the crucial moment—"That will do, Colonel!"

Bissell rode a few steps further, glanced back at the advancing foe, then turned, and in a voice that rang along the whole line, shouted; "Battalion —Halt! About face! On the colors—dress!"

The company officers repeated the orders—the line swung round and then stood fast, and again the rolling "fire by file" ran from right to left.

"The battle's won, by God!" shouted the astonished aide, and plunging his spurs in his horse, swept away to Taylor to report.

This was the type of soldier that Illinois sent out in those days. Buena Vista was one of the most wonderful conflicts in the annals of civilized warfare, and this was one of the most wonderful feats done in it, little, if at all, noted in current histories, but none the less wonderful for all that.

Fifteen years later, in that dreadful first day of the sanguinary battle of Shiloh, fought against men at least equal in valor and superior in the long expectation and preparation for war, Illinois was represented by many regiments. None of them flinched though many of them were crushed or swept off their feet by the tremendous momentum of the southern rush. But on the extreme left of Grant's line there was another deed done of which history has said but little, but which, if it had not been done, would have left history to flow in another channel. Everywhere from the extreme right toward this left wing the line had been more or less crushed and pushed backward. This position was held by a small brigade, composed in part of Ohio and in part of Illinois troops under command of an Illinois officer, Col. David Stuart, of Chicago. It was not involved in the first rush, and perhaps the foe counted on it being weakened to aid the other imperilled parts of the line, but the day was yet young when the attack fell upon it also. It was beaten off, but again and again it was renewed with all the brilliant dash of the southern soldiery. All day long, with scarcely breathing space between, the soldiers of the south were hurled against this thin, stubborn line from the northwest. Once, when its right was endangered by the crushing of its neighbors, that right was swung backwards a little, but only when there was a lull in which it could be done safely. It was somewhat aided by the fire from a gun boat or two in the river, but there were times when that fire was well nigh as dangerous to friend as to foe. All day long their ears were filled with thunderous throbbing of the guns of a colossal struggle. They knew that their friends were giving way, nor knew at what moment the foe might overlap them and engulf them from the rear. But they were there to hold that position, and all day long against assault after assault, they held it. All day long they breasted the storm of battle in a death grapple against the bravest fighting soldiery the world has ever known—all day, hungry, thirsty, torn with shot and shell, powder blackened and bloody, they clung, practically unaided, to their post, the one unbroken place in the whole original line, and night and Buell found Dave Stuart's exhausted but undaunted brigade standing practically where it stood when the first gun was fired.

I recall these two little known incidents, because I regard them as typical of one of the conspicuous qualities of the race which, compounded from the most vigorous and adventurous blood of half a dozen distinct races, has here, on the rich prairies of Illinois, developed one of the highest types of that high quality, courage. Courage that does not vaunt itself in advance, does not fight from the mere love of fighting, that fights only from conviction of right and duty; courage that illuminates the animal with the intellectual; courage that once roused to action clings to its aim with an unblenching tenacity, ready to dare all and sacrifice all, never surpassed since the dawn of history.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of this quality. It is, indeed, displayed in its most spectacular form in the courage of battle, but if it is possessed by any race it inevitably furnishes the determining factor in all they do, in war or peace.

Twenty or more years before the civil war, the State, having plunged into schemes of expenditure well meaning but rash, the fruit of the "flush times" of the thirties, found itself, after the great financial tempest of 1837, frightfully loaded with debt; you will hear some of the particulars from others better able to recall them. It is not too much to say that they were appalled. Ever to pay the huge debt seemed impossible. The prospect appeared absolutely hopeless. The example of repudiation had been set in some other quarters, and no penalty for it was yet visible. It is not suprising that there were faint hearts which prompted the heads they controlled to propose that way of fancied escape. More or less covertly and by indirection it was urged,

and the battle was fought out before the people of the State. How it was done others may tell you. I deal altogether with broad generalities. The people of the State, hopelessly mired as they seemed, set their faces as flint against the policy.

They had the courage to be honest.

Earlier in their history, soon after they had been invested with the sovereignty of statehood, the proposition to adopt a policy of slavery was pressed before them. The great body of the population of the State lay south of the State's central transverse line. The large majority of the State's people had come into it from, or by way of, the south, which was growing rich from slave labor. Many of them honestly believed it a condition sanctioned by the religion they professed. More were convinced that it opened the easiest and surest way to material wealth, political power and high social and intellectual culture in the dominant race. Looking at it in the light of that day, we should not feel surprise that many advocated it, many who were good citizens and good men in their day and generation.

I do not pause to detail the long and anxious debate among the people, to weary you with dates or point out individuals who took this side or that. It is enough to say that the entire population was stirred and all men took sides, and while good faith to Virginia, which state had given the territory to the nation with the condition of freedom attached, was urged as a reason for negativing the proposition, it was devotion to freedom as a principle that was the controlling factor in the final decision.

Nor was it overlooked that those who asserted the principle when they made the proposition, denied in that proposition the very principle under which they had assumed to act against the Virginia inhibition. On that broad ground the struggle was fought out, and slavery failed of recognition among a people most of whom knew it from having lived where it prevailed.

They had the courage to be just.

When this battle over slavery was fought out, the people who fought and decided it made an infant community, scattered as among themselves, in close touch with no neighbor, the nearest neighbors they had, slave holding communities, and forced to trust to an evidently remote future to vindicate the political and economic wisdom of their decision. That it was not, in fact, as remote as they thought it, does not detract a shade from the strength and virtue of the act.

Turning aside for a space from the main current of what I am trying to say of our people, I feel that their attitude toward slavery has been of such transcendent moment in their development—into so much of what has been said of it so much of passion and prejudice and hasty generalization has entered—that it deserves some further elucidation as it seems to me now when I look back upon such of it as came under my observation with the passion all cooled, and the perspective corrected in its inter-relations by lapse of time. I feel, too, that I can best do this by telling the story of an actual happening here in this verdurous city when it was little more than a frontier village, at a time when the question was settled as to the State, but the feeling that later flamed out in civil war was still hot and was beginning to be fanned toward flame by the breezes from partisan struggle. It illustrates both the surface current and the mighty underflow that asserted its power when war came.

The "underground railroad," as people called the more or less organized efforts of the opponents of negro slavery to aid fugitive slaves to escape from bondage into "the promised land" of Canada, was glorified by the success of its friends, and so found its way into literature and to the common knowledge of our people. Mrs. Stowe used it in her great revolutionary novel, and many localities in the border free states carrying more or less of its traditions to which honor is now paid. Anti-slavery writers have written of these escapes as if nearly all the people of those states approved slavery, except of course, the few who managed the "railroad" aforesaid, and to such writers these latter were all heroes and potential martyrs. There was a reverse to

"The battle's won, by God!" shouted the astonished aide, and plunging his spurs in his horse, swept away to Taylor to report.

This was the type of soldier that Illinois sent out in those days. Buena Vista was one of the most wonderful conflicts in the annals of civilized warfare, and this was one of the most wonderful feats done in it, little, if at all, noted in current histories, but none the less wonderful for all that.

Fifteen years later, in that dreadful first day of the sanguinary battle of Shiloh, fought against men at least equal in valor and superior in the long expectation and preparation for war, Illinois was represented by many regiments. None of them flinched though many of them were crushed or swept off their feet by the tremendous momentum of the southern rush. But on the extreme left of Grant's line there was another deed done of which history has said but little, but which, if it had not been done, would have left history to flow in another channel. Everywhere from the extreme right toward this left wing the line had been more or less crushed and pushed backward. This position was held by a small brigade, composed in part of Ohio and in part of Illinois troops under command of an Illinois officer, Col. David Stuart, of Chicago. It was not involved in the first rush, and perhaps the foe counted on it being weakened to aid the other imperilled parts of the line, but the day was yet young when the attack fell upon it also. It was beaten off, but again and again it was renewed with all the brilliant dash of the southern soldiery. All day long, with scarcely breathing space between, the soldiers of the south were hurled against this thin, stubborn line from the northwest. Once, when its right was endangered by the crushing of its neighbors, that right was swung backwards a little, but only when there was a lull in which it could be done safely. It was somewhat aided by the fire from a gun boat or two in the river, but there were times when that fire was well nigh as dangerous to friend as to foe. All day long their ears were filled with thunderous throbbing of the guns of a colossal struggle. They knew that their friends were giving way, nor knew at what moment the foe might overlap them and engulf them from the rear. But they were there to hold that position, and all day long against assault after assault, they held it. All day long they breasted the storm of battle in a death grapple against the bravest fighting soldiery the world has ever known—all day, hungry, thirsty, torn with shot and shell, powder blackened and bloody, they clung, practically unaided, to their post, the one unbroken place in the whole original line, and night and Buell found Dave Stuart's exhausted but undaunted brigade standing practically where it stood when the first gun was fired.

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It was far otherwise when any of the kidnapper class came to their notice through attempted action. In the considerable cities of the border slave states—St. Louis, Louisville, Baltimore—the slave markets were practically always open, and there were always middlemen, ready to buy in them and look for their profit in making up "gangs" to be sold in the far southern states, where slaves were in constant demand and "ruled high." In most cases there was no question of the legal ownership of the persons offered, and generally there was little disposition to question the title of the man offering.

Investigation was perfunctory, unless there was active dispute by somebody, and the negro himself could rarely hope to be accounted that somebody. It was easy for a white man of intelligence and boldness to push a negro, who had no champion, to sale, and once gone into the rice or cotton fields such a negro's case was practically hopeless.

Throughout the central states negroes were scattered in most of the larger towns and villages, and more sparsely in the farming regions. Some of them were born free, some of them had been manumitted, and some of them were fugitives stranded on their way to Canada, or cunning and bold enough to expect safety without going so far north. So long as one of these could call in the aid of white friends he or she was safe, but if one could be suddenly snatched away and hurried across the border, the case was desperate indeed.

Along both sides of that border there were men who made a practice—though it could hardly be called a business, since it was not openly allowed—of enticing, or entrapping, or abducting negroes judged least capable of successful resistance, and "selling them south." Two or three—rarely more than four—operated together. One would place himself in St. Louis, for example, and by legitimate business transactions and various acts of good fellowship "establish a character" as a buyer and seller of slaves. The others would drift about among the not distant northern towns, and "study the situation," learning the antecedents and the circumstances of every negro likely to sell well, and selecting for prey such as seemed least fitted to defend themselves—even bribing other negroes to assist—and sometimes being decided to sudden action by unforeseen opportunities. There were no telegraphs nor railways, and the kidnapper could travel more rapidly than "the stage," since he generally had two or three or more good horses distributed along the line between the scene of his operations and the market city. Usually, too, he had many hours "the start" of all possible pursuit, and if he was bold and prompt he, as a rule, escaped with his victim, though he was sometimes overhauled even after reaching the market. For this latter reason some preferred fewer transactions and larger profits by shunning the border state cities and themselves taking their quarries to the remoter southern markets.

But when an alarm was given, no legal summons was needed to enlist nearly the whole community in the effort to defeat and to punish, legally or extra legally, any attempt to kidnap. Volunteers would spring up in the most unexpected quarters, and men who, in argument, would excuse and defend slavery with zeal, and even with heat, would join with no less energy in the pursuit and punishment of kidnappers. And this expresses the attitude of that generation. They were willing that others should have slavery, but would have none of it themselves. They would reluctantly obey the law to restore fugitives, but spontaneously volunteer punishment for every kidnapper.

An incident of "the forties," in and near this village, will further illustrate some of the ways of the kidnappers and how they were regarded by the people. There was living in my home, as a domestic, a young mulatto woman named Lucinda. She may have had some other name, after a fashion, but if so, I never knew it. She had been a slave in Kentucky, but had legally secured her freedom.

There was in the same town a barber, a decidedly dandyish fellow, who maintained—as did many of mixed blood when color and hair permitted—that he was "part Indian," though everybody else believed him "part negro." He was a beau of Lucinda's, though the warier brothers of her race had

warned her against him, saying, not unwisely, that if he were really of Indian extraction, he was treacherous by birthright, and if only a pretended Indian, he was treacherous by choice.

Early one summer there came a gentleman to town who claimed to be a southerner of wealth looking for a summer home. He claimed a good old Maryland name, and to those of us who were boys he "looked exactly like a southerner." But the real southerners by birth who lived in the village smiled, and said he was rather too tropical in style. I didn't know then what they meant, but I found out between 1861 and 1865.

He soon knew Lucinda, leading her to suppose that he was a friend of her "old master" in Kentucky, as, indeed, he may have been. She was cautioned about him too, but it had little or no effect. One warm Sunday afternoon the barber came to take Lucinda driving, but said his horse and buggy were being driven around the block by a friend, because "the horse wouldn't stand." She went with him to the corner, a block away. I saw him help her into a buggy, only the back of which was presented to my vision, but the horse attached to which was standing quietly enough. She was to return by sunset, but little note was taken when she did not, for the barber was believed to be intending marriage. But after we were all in bed, there was a thundering summons on the old fashioned brass knocker on the front door. On opening it, my father found a gentleman whom we will call Smith, because that was not his name, accompanied by a young negro, who averred that he had seen the barber drive out with Lucinda, and that the "rig" belonged to C——, the Marylander. That he had seen the barber riding into town alone, after dark, on horseback, and not upon the horse he had driven. Smith was fiery and quick to suspect. He had gone to C——'s hotel and been informed that he had left town by stage on the preceding evening, without surrendering his room. Smith at once suspected kidnapping, came to our house to learn if the girl had returned, and when he learned that she was still absent, he grew more fiercely excited, and my father was scarcely less so. One was a hot "Jackson Democrat" and the other a vehement "Henry Clay Whig," but they were one in heart and soul in this matter. Before midnight the story had been told and discussed, and both men, armed to the teeth, were gone. This much I saw and heard. The rest I only heard of, but very directly.

They roused up the barber. He insisted, at first, that he had brought Lucinda back—that she had left him near the African Baptist church and he knew nothing more about her, but confronted with the negro who saw his return, and also with the lash of a carriage whip, backed by the blue barrel of a dueling pistol, he "weakened" and changed his type of lie. He denied knowing the rig to be C——'s, saying he had hired it from the hotel stable, which was true, because the owner had authorized it. He said that six or seven miles from town he went into the woods for sassafras root, leaving Lucinda "holding the horse." That when he returned all had disappeared, and he grew angry because he thought it was a trick of hers to leave him in the woods and drive home by herself, so, after waiting for some time he hired a horse of the first farmer he could find, and rode home, saying nothing about it for fear of being laughed at.

When Lucinda told her story it proved that the fellow told the truth as far as she knew. She said that within two minutes after he went into the "brush," Mr. C—— appeared on the other side of the road, expressed surprise at seeing her, came closer, looked at the horse, proposed to drive to a tavern down the road and get her a watermelon while her escort was hunting sassafras, sprang into the buggy, took the lines, and not until they were several miles nearer St. Louis did she begin to suspect kidnapping. C—— said to her that her "beau" knew nothing of his, C——'s purpose. The barber himself stoutly maintained that he was innocent, and Lucinda always believed him, but the dandy barber's "pull" with the community was gone, and in a short time he too was gone, and never came back.

Smith and my father did not believe his tale, but to rescue the girl, whom they now firmly believed to be in C——'s hands was the first end to be sought, and they set out, driving my father's horse, about one o'clock Monday morning. Two hours, or rather less, later, they roused a landlord in Manchester, 16 miles away, hurriedly told their story, heard of the passage through the village of such a pair late in the afternoon before, secured a fresh horse, a lunch to be eaten while they drove, and were away.

They heard of the pursued at various points, secured another fresh horse in Carrollton, where both were well known, volunteer assistants eagerly offering but always declined, and on Monday afternoon caught sight of their object somewhere near Jerseyville. Their too obvious eagerness to overtake alarmed C——, while they were still a quarter of a mile away, and he lashed his tired horse into a run. They did the same, and for two or three miles along the lonely prairie roads they drove a headlong chase, terminated by the bad stumbling of C——'s horse and their drawing alongside before he could recover, with the muzzles of two dueling pistols accentuating their demand for surrender.

Whether any shots were fired by anybody neither of the men would ever say, though both laughed at the suggestion as nonsense, and the girl always said she was too badly scared to know. C—— was never seen again, in Jacksonville at least, and the little luggage he left at the hotel was found to be utterly worthless. It seemed from what he said to the girl that he had expected at least 16 or 18 hours "start," and had neglected the usual precaution of fresh horses enroute, probably preferring the greater secrecy of but one horse to Alton, and there expecting to take boat for St. Louis.

During Monday the story had gone abroad in many grotesque forms in Jacksonville, and volunteer aids in the pursuit had set out in buggies and on horseback who fell in behind Smith and my father when they were met returning, with the girl sitting on an upturned candle-box between their feet, so that when they arrived at home late on Tuesday afternoon they headed a little triumphal procession. Neither of them had rested, nor sat down at a table to eat, from the time they began the pursuit at midnight of Sunday till their return. Yet both these men, a few years afterward, when the anti-slavery fever ran high, were counted as partially pro-slavery men, though both were unflinchingly on the national side when the civil war broke out nearly 20 years later.

This reminiscence of an almost forgotten time in central Illinois will illustrate both the injustice often done to the attitude of that generation toward slavery, and some of the methods of a nefarious "industry" little treated by any writer, as well as the hatred with which that industry was regarded by the people. It is a peculiarly mild illustration of the latter. There was loud and deep grumbling at the mistaken mildness of letting the miscreant off unhurt, on his pledge to keep away from Jacksonville. But the two principals stuck to their story and kept their own counsel, and C—— did keep away from Jacksonville.

Turning back to the main line of my thought, if indeed I may dignify it by calling it thought, I remark that when, later, the people of Illinois refused to be crushed by appalling debt, they were still a scattered people, weak in numbers, and still out of touch with the great currents of the world's business and of its profits. They still had confidence in their future, and if the worst should come they felt that it was better to starve in honor than to fatten on broken faith.

Both these crucial struggles roused the whole people to vigorous thinking and action. Both penetrated into every home—affected for good or ill the life of every man, woman and child—were the subjects of conversation and discussion when neighbors met, or strangers accosted each other along the lonely roads. Among almost any of the peoples of older countries questions of no graver import had served over and over again in human history to light the fires of rioting and civil war. Among these people they flashed now and then into a rough and tumble fight between individuals, perhaps, but they never bred any considerable disorders.

Among other peoples they would have been followed by years of smoldering feuds and ever recurring revolutionary cabals and conspiracies. Among these people they left no taint of bitterness behind them. They were the concerns of the people, and the people had decided them peaceably, by the great democratic principle of the majority, and when the majority spoke, all men alike, openly, frankly, in manly good faith, acquiesced in the majority's mandate and with right good will set their shoulders to the wheel to work out the future, like Dumas' heroes, "each for all and all for each."

They had faith in the democratic principle and they grounded their action on their faith.

Brave, honest, just, patient, resourceful, genuinely democratic, these are the characteristics which I hold that these crucial crises in our history prove to be conspicuous, determining qualities in the race which has come out of the welding of so many races, and, unhampered by artificial conditions, has expanded and strengthened its lungs, cleared and vitalized its blood and brain, infused its elastic spring into all who have mingled with it, and braced up its unshrinking soul to occupy and possess this heart of North America.

I am aware that this is not the kind of paper to which historical societies are usually called to listen. I have shed no new light on the life or public services of any of the State's citizens, great or little; I have made no study of before-undigested statistics; I have dug up no forgotten passages of history, nor even made a study of any particular period. I doubt if I have adverted to any fact which my hearers or some of them did not already know. If you ask why, then, have I occupied your time, I can only reply that it was because I thought that not to all of you has it occurred to think of all the relations of the well known facts I have mentioned to each other, and to our future, as I have dimly outlined. I am, unluckily for myself, no specialist, yet if the works of specialists be not generalized by somebody, they lie in archives comparatively barren, and if into that generalization there be not breathed something of that wonderful gift of man—imagination, they do not bear that fruit they should, when the unseen contingencies of the future become the pressing problems of the present. As somebody pertinently said long ago: "It was imagination that reared the wondrous dreamladder upon which Le Verrier mounted to a star." He took the isolated work of the specialists who had gone before him, generalized them into conclusions called hypotheses, and on these his imagination scaled the sky and added a new planet to our system.

I have merely pointed out, with some emphasis possibly, facts you all knew before. And even if you have thought everything that I have said about them, placing them in the same relations and deducing from them similar conclusions, it may, at least, serve to encourage you to further thought, to find that another has been slowly plodding along the same lines.

I have pointed to the fact that our State lies at the heart of North American empire—using that word in no narrow sense—and that the people who occupy it, if they are worthy of their heritage, may exert a commanding influence on the evolution of the future. By way of contribution toward knowing whether they are worthy, I have pointed to the fact that they are a composite race, made up of the aggressive elements of nearly all the progressive races of modern civilization. I have pointed to the circumstances in which all those racial elements have been welded into one. And, by way of further contribution, have pointed to some of the things they have done—not the things their great men have done but the things done by the plain people, with the traits of character those acts imply, as earnest out of the past of what they may do in the future. I believe that if they all had seen this racial character—all these facts—as it seems to me—if they had fully reflected that, in all circumstances, men do *as* they do because they *are what* they are, they would have met the problems of the past with a more hopeful, if not with more unflinching courage, and so would have been spared much painful doubt and misgiving, and been inspired with that buoyant elan which is in itself an element of victory.

The state, or national, manhood that would not merely struggle at the tail of the great march of human events, should have some such knowledge of itself, of what it has been and is, and so be clairvoyant of what it may be. I have further sought, in this general and cursory way, to emphasize the thought that there is every reason for the people of Illinois to feel in an especial degree, the spur of that most inspiring of all incentives to "high emprise" in the evolution of history, that is embodied in the significant old French *Noblesse Oblige*.

SOME FACTS IN THE JUDICIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

[By J. O. Cunningham.]

It will only be claimed for this paper that it is a collation of facts from histories, reports, statutes, and other authorities already in print. They have been collected with a view to placing in a compact and concise form many interesting facts touching one of our most important departments of government.

In all human governments there must and does exist, in some form or other, the legislative, the executive, and judicial departments. This division of the powers of government may have developed from the family or patriarchal form, through the several stages of clans or tribes, into that more extended form, the monarchy, where at first, all power was vested in the king; yet from necessity, history shows us, that early in the development of governments these several forms or departments have made their appearance, either as independent departments, as in our system of republics, or as grants of power from the king, the source of all power.

The exception to this exists where the government is that of a religious heirarchy, where the church through its priests, governs the people; at one and the same time making the laws or rules of society, enforcing their execution and sitting judicially for the settlement of controversies.

The several forms of government under which the territory now called the State of Illinois, has existed since its settlement by civilized man, now 200 years ago, has formed no exception to the general rules here stated.

The first political connection of the "Illinois country" at that time being quite indefinable, except that it lay on both sides of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, was under the jurisdiction of New France or Canada; but later under French authority, it was annexed to Louisiana, an equally indefinable territory.

Early in 1718 Boisbrant, after the five years of failure of Crozat, as the king's lieutenant, with a detachment of troops came up the river from New Orleans to Kaskaskia and assumed control of the country, which was the first military occupation of the village. He selected the site for and erected Fort Chartres in 1720, at the expense of the company of the west. *

As a part of the Province of Louisiana, the Illinois and Wabash country were, in 1723, established for civil and military purposes into a district called "Illinois and Wabash," by Bienville, the French governor of the western company, at New Orleans. †

Later, under English authority, it was annexed to Canada by an act of the English parliament, under whose jurisdiction it was when George Rogers Clark again made the Fourth of July famous, by conquering the Illinois country for the new republic, on July 4, 1778, when, with all the country northwest of the Ohio, it passed forever from English control, and was soon thereafter established as the County of Illinois, under the State of Virginia. ‡

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* Illinois under French rule, 1270.
† Ib. 225.
‡ Henning's statutes of Virginia.

The deed of cession of March 1, 1784, executed by authority of the state of Virginia, conveyed the territory to the United States government, where it has since remained, 34 years under territorial government, and 83 years as a sovereign State.

Under each of these jurisdictions Illinois has had some kind of courts for the adjustment of controversies which inevitably arise among men.

Under French jurisdiction, where the territory remained for about 100 years, it can not be said that any legally organized courts, as we understand the term, with well defined jurisdiction and powers, ever existed. The French commandant of posts, or governor who was vested with both civil and military power, together with the resident priest, as an advisor or perhaps more often a priest alone, regulated the police of the country and gave friendly counsel which either settled all controversies or prevented them from arising. The customs of Paris, or more properly the laws of France, were recognized and governed in descents and all other things. The people paid no taxes to the State. *

If there were any courts other than those here named, neither their names nor their records have come down to us.

The commandant of the colony who was appointed by the governor of Louisiana, exercised all such executive functions as the exigencies of the country might require, with the semblance of responsibility to his superior.

This official up to 1750, exercised supreme judicial power also, except in capital cases, they being cognizable by the superior counsel of Louisiana, which consisted of the intendant, who was the first judge and especially charged with the king's rights, and with all that related to the revenue, the king's attorney, six of the principal inhabitants, and the register of the province, all appointed by the crown, subordinate to the "major commandant," as he was styled, each village having its local commandant, usually the captain of the militia. He was as great a personage, at least as our city mayors, superintending the police of his village and acting as a kind of justice of the peace from whose decisions an appeal lay to the major commandant. In the choice of this subordinate that important functionary, "the adult inhabitant," had a voice, and it is the only instance wherein he exercised an elective franchise. †

About 1752 there was established by French power at Kaskaskia what was called the "Court of the Audience of the Royal Jurisdiction of Illinois." This seems to have been a court of record, for Judge Breese says that the record of the court "is still extant among the lumber of a county court house office," and he copies from some of said record what throws much light upon our subject. ‡

Judge Breese says that "such small questions as will arise even in the best regulated communities, were usually settled by the mild interposition of the commandant or the priest. §

The fall of Quebec, in 1759, followed by the treaty between England and France of 1763, concluded French authority in North America, which passed to the British crown. General Gage, the commandant of all of the British forces in North America, issued a proclamation to the Illinois people, extending English laws over the Illinois country, and assured its inhabitants of "the same security for persons and effects and the liberty of trade, as other subjects of the British king." ‖

Captain Stirling came to Fort Chartres, in 1765, bringing this proclamation of General Gage and with it authority to establish a purely military government. He received a surrender of the Fort and country from St. Ange, the French commandant who, during his administration, besides being a successful administrator, had made many wise and salutary regulations about titles to lands.

* Reynold's Pioneer History, 73.
† Breese's "Early Illinois," 216.
‡ Breese's "Early Illinois," 218.
§ Ib.
‖ Western Annals, 694.

St. Ange, with a large portion of the French inhabitants, displeased with the changing of owners of the country, removed to the west side of the Mississippi, to Spanish territory. Those who remained, about 2,000 in number, at once became difficult subjects to govern. They regarded their new rulers as their hereditary enemies and admired neither their laws, manners and customs, nor their regulations concerning trade'

A few British families and soldiers from the Fort, occupied some of the abandoned farms, purchased at a nominal sum, and thus became permanent settlers.

Captain Stirling did not long remain in command, but was succeeded in December, 1765, by Maj. Robert Farmer, he by Col. Edward Cole, in 1766, and he by Col. John Reed. The latter was relieved by Lieut. Col. John Wilkins, Sept. 1, 1768.

During the period elapsing between the surrender of the country by the French to the coming of Colonel Wilkins, when nothing but a purely military government existed, a large batch of dissensions among the people had grown up. A company of Philadelphians, under the name of Boynton, Wharton and Morgan, with their stores at Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia, where they dealt in everything, controlled the business of the country. Their business methods did not suit the free and easy methods of the French and Indians, and social friction was the result. *

About this time Captain Pittman, under English authority, visited the country and reported of its needs and condition. He said that the English commanding officer was in fact the arbitrary governor of the country. That the officer commanding at Fort Gage governed the inhabitants at Kaskaskia, under the jurisdiction of the commandant at Fort Chartres, and that a militia captain at Prairie du Rocher regulated the police there. †

Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins, sent out by General Gage to take command in Illinois, arrived at Kaskaskia Sept. 5, 1768. Since the English occupation under Captain Stirling, which began in 1765, the administration of justice had been in the hands of the military commandant and was very odious to the public. Complaints of grievous oppression was made, but with little success. On Nov. 21, 1768, Colonel Wilkins issued a proclamation in which he stated that he had received orders from General Gage, the commandant in chief, to establish a court of justice in Illinois, for the settlement of all disputes and controversies between man and man, and all claims in relation to property, both real and personal. Seven judges were therefore appointed by the military commandant, who met and held their first term at Fort Chartres on the 6th day of December, 1768. Courts were held thereafter once in every month. This system, however preferable to the tribunal which it superseded, was far from being satisfactory. The people insisted on trial by jury, and this being denied them the court became unpopular This condition of things continued until the American occupation, ten years afterwards. ‡

The rule of Rocheblave, who on July 4, 1778, surrendered to the American force under Col. George Rogers Clark, seems to have permitted a lapse of this court, for, added to the fact that, although governing under a commission from the British king, he was a Frenchman and a loyal servant of the church. we hear no more of the odious court organized by Colonel Wilkins. It is possible that this French-English commandant had no time, after writing the numerous letters attributed to him, to give attention to civil matters. It is most likely that the settling of controversies arising among the people was again remitted to the gentle rule of the priests.

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* John Moses, in Early Illinois.

† Western Annals pp. 668-691.

‡ Brown's History of Illinois, 213.

Clark, did for the territory conquered by him the best that he could do without civil authority and written statutes. It is said that he established courts, (held by French judges elected by the people,) with a right of appeal to himself, and that these courts became popular and added essentially to confirm his power with the people. * In all that he did he was much aided by the counsels and advice of the priest, Father Gibault, whom the people obeyed and to whose memory civilization in Illinois owes much.

On Dec. 12, 1778, five months after the conquest of the Illinois country by Colonel Clark, Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, the state entitled to the credit of making the conquest, appointed John Todd, a lawyer of Virginia, county lieutenant for the county of Illinois, for as such the new conquest had been organized with limitless bounds, embracing the territory of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, by the legislature of that state.

It was not until the following May, that the new civil governor, armed with his commission, signed by the hand of Patrick Henry, that great advocate of liberty, arrived at Kaskaskia and set up, among a really foreign population, what was intended to be a popular civil government, in the place of the military rule, either under the French and British kings or under Colonel Clark, which had dominated the country since its settlement, then over 70 years.

In pursuance of this Virginia authority, Jean B. Barbeau, Nicholas Janis and Charles Charleville, were chosen "by vote of the people," as it is said, judges of the court at Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia and Cahokia. What the jurisdiction of this primitive court was we are left to conjecture. Whether appeals lay from their decisions and to what power, we ware equally in the dark. As they had their origin in a law passed by English-Americans and the necessity existed, it may well be inferred that, like the courts of the king's bench in England, and its colonies, they had and exercised general common law and criminal jurisdiction, to which was probably added that of the English chancellor.

Certain records, kept by Col. Todd, yet in existence, would indicate that these courts did convict men of capital offenses, among which was the crime of witch-craft, for which crime those convicted are shown to have suffered death at the stake. †

In addition to the establishment of courts in the Illinois country, Colonel Todd proceeded to carry out another important instruction of Governor Henry by ordering an election of civil officers, including the members of the courts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, which should have both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The election held under this order was the first exercise of the elective franchise in Illinois, under American rule. The officers chosen, with one exception, were either by birth or descent, French.

In 1782, Colonel Todd was temporarilly absent from the post of his duty upon a visit to Kentucky, at the time of the Indian raid into that territory, which resulted in the disastrous battle of Blue Licks. Taking part therein, at the head of the detachment of frontiersmen, he was slain there, Aug. 29, 1782.

Among the members of the court at Cahokia was Jean Baptiste Saucier a name recently prominently brought before the Illinois public by the interesting and valuable historical brochure of our honored vice president, Dr. Snyder, who has the honor of claiming descent from this early military and civil officer, who, as a French officer and in civil life conspicuously figured in the early history of Illinois.

Thus were started the wheels of government by whose revolutions a practical knowledge of the forms necessary to the establishment of a free republic were substituted for those of anarchy. ‡

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* Brown's History of Illinois, p. 242.
† John Todd's note book, 53.
‡ Moses' History of Illinois, 160.

The name of Timothe de Montbrun, a Frenchman, is given as the successor of Colonel Todd. How long he served as commandant of the Illinois country does not appear, nor does it appear that he figured in the judicial history of the country. The name of de Montbrun appears to land grants and other public documents among the public archives at Kaskaskia. *

ILLINOIS UNDER FEDERAL AUTHORITY.

As the northwest territory was deeded by Virginia to the United States on March 1, 1784, and that state from that time lost jurisdiction of the Illinois territory, we must from that date look to the dealings of the Federal government with our territory, for its history.

During the period which elapsed between the adoption of the ordinance of 1787 to the coming of Governor St. Clair, in 1790, there was a very imperfect administration of the laws, which consisted of a mixture of the civil or French, the English, as resulting from the promulgation of the arbitrary acts of the British commandants at Fort Chartres, and such as had been instituted by the Virginia authorities. There were no regular courts in existence in the country, and no civil government worth mentioning. The people were a law unto themselves, besides, this was a period of Indian warfare against the Illinois settlers, as well as of the white inhabitants of the northwest territory. †

During this time there was very little use for the administration of either civil or criminal law. The ambuscade and the scalping knife figured most largely then, and many valuable lives were lost. ‡

General Harmar, as commander-in-chief of the United States forces in the northwest, was the supreme authority, in both civil and military matters, and he had little occasion to interfere in Illinois matters, chiefly in checking the reckless issue of land grants.

On July 13, 1787, the congress of the Confederate states passed the first law of American origin, touching the government of Illinois known as the "Ordinance of 1787," providing for the territorial organization of all the territory northwest of the river Ohio under federal authority. It provided for the appointment of a governor and three judges, whose duty it should be to "adopt and publish such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property." It is also provided that the Governor should appoint magistrates and that the inhabitants should always be entitled to judicial proceedings according to the courts of common law.

General Arthur St. Clair, appointed governor of the territory northwest of the Ohio, appeared at Marietta, in July, 1788, with Samuel Holden Parsons, James Mitchell Varnum and John Cleves Symmes, the judges appointed by congress, and at once began the organization of the territorial government, according to the provisions of the ordinance of 1787. The governor and the judges were empowered by this law to enact laws for the territory. An act was soon passed providing for the holding of one term of court in each year in every county to be established, for the transaction of civil and criminal business. Also an act established county courts of common pleas. §

The governor and judges also adopted the common law of England and the British statutes in aid thereof to the fourth year of James I.

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* Davidson & Stuve's History of Illinois, 204.

† Davidson & Stuve's History of Illinois, 206.

‡ Western Annals, 706.

§ Dillon's History of Indiana, pp. 214-223.

Early in 1790, Governor St. Clair came to Kaskaskia and by proclamation, established St. Clair county, embracing all the territory within a line running from the mouth of the Ohio river along the Mississippi and Illinois, to the mouth of the Little Mackinac creek, below Peoria, thence by a direct line to Fort Massiac, thence by the Ohio to its mouth. * This boundary enclosed all of the settlements within the Illinois country.

The country was parcelled off into three judicial districts and the Governor appointed as judges of the courts of common pleas Jean Baptiste Barbeau, John Edgar and John de Moulin. Grand juries were impaneled and indictments returned. No appeal lay from these courts.

It is said that the Governor found no little difficulty in finding men with qualifications, as not one man in 50, could read or write. None of them were lawyers. These judges held the courts in each district at Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher and Cahokia, and held office during the pleasure of the Governor.

The Governor also appointed justices of the peace for the county, with jurisdiction in civil matters and with power to hold preliminary examinations in criminal matters. No jury was allowed in these courts.

The United States judges of the territory held their sessions at the seat of government, at Cincinnati or Chillicothe, so far from Illinois that an appeal would have been impracticable. †

Judge Turner, one of the territorial judges, held a term in St. Clair county in 1795, which is said to have been productive of more harm than good, and out of it came a controversy between this judge and Governor St. Clair, which resulted in the recall of the former, the division of St. Clair county, and the establishment of Randolph county. Judge Symmes, another of the territorial judges, came in 1796, and held court in both counties.

All this time it is said that courts were rarely convened and their sessions were marked by an absence of order or decorum. ‡

In 1795 Randolph county was set off from St. Clair and a court of common pleas established for it, which held four sessions each year. Governor Reynolds says of the judges appointed by the government that "they were sound headed and respectable men who had no pretension to legal learning, but were about similar to the best of our justices of the peace." Among these early judges we may name Shadrach Bond, who was afterwards Governor of the State, James Leman, William Whiteside, James Piggott, Jean F. Perry, Nicholas Jarrot, George Achison, James Edgar, William Morrison and Robert Reynolds, father of John Reynolds, who was afterwards judge of the Supreme Court and Governor of the State.

This court had a common law jurisdiction similar to our circuit courts. Justices of the peace were also appointed for the new county. §

John Hay was appointed by Governor St. Clair, in 1799, clerk of the court at Cahokia. This office, with other responsible positions, he continued to hold, first at Cahokia and afterwards at Belleville, by different appointments and by election, until his death in 1843. ‖

ILLINOIS AS A PART OF THE TERRITORY OF INDIANA.

Illinois formed a part of the territory of Indiana for the period of eight years. During that time, probably about 1801, an act was passed by the territorial legislature creating, or perhaps more correctly stated, perpetuating, the judicial system of the old northwest territory, which provided for the appointment of justices of the peace for each county, by the Governor, with a limited jurisdiction in civil matters and also made them conservators of the peace.

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* I. St. Clair Papers, 166.

† Reynold's Pioneer History, 181.

‡ E. G. Mason's Early Illinois, 198.

§ Reynold's "My Own Times" 66.

‖ Reynold's Pioneer History, 228.

Courts of common pleas were organized in each county, the three judges to be appointed and commissioned by the Governor for and during good behavior, whose compensation was $2.50 per day. Its jurisdiction was both civil and criminal, having also jurisdiction in probate matters. The same law created a supreme court to be held at the capital of the territory, Vincennes, twice a year. Its jurisdiction was chiefly appellate.

This condition of the territorial jurisdiction continued until 1809, when the territory of Illinois had a separate existence.*

ILLINOIS AS A TERRITORY.

Nathaniel Pope, Secretary and acting Governor of the Illinois territory, appeared in the territory, having taken the oath of office in April. 1809. Soon thereafter he commissioned a sufficient number of justices of the peace. The Governor, Ninian Edwards, also came in June following, and, with the territorial judges, re-enacted the laws of the Indiana territory, so far as applicable.†

John Rice Jones, a native of Wales, came to Kaskaskia with Governor St. Clair, and was the first practicing lawyer resident in Illinois. He, after many years' residence and practice, settled in Missouri, and died there a member of the supreme court of that state. He was the father of George W. Jones, once a United States Senator from Iowa. Up to as late a date as 1803 none of the profession joined Mr. Jones other than Messrs. Haggin and Darnell.‡

John J. Crittenden, afterwards so noted as a representative of the State of Kentucky in the United States Senate, was appointed by President Madison Attorney General of the territory of Illinois, along with the appointment of Governor Ninian Edwards and Judges Jesse B. Thomas, William Sprigg and Alexander Stuart.§

Whether Mr. Crittenden accepted the appointment or not, our histories do not inform us, but as his successor was soon thereafter appointed, it is probable that he did not.

Governor Edwards was chosen to his place from a position which he held upon the supreme court of Kentucky, and was eminent in all those qualities demanded for his position as the head of the embryo State. He was learned as a lawyer, and courtly in his manner. His task was no easy one. In 1809 the white population of the State was about 12,000, made up largely of the original French inhabitants, who constituted one-fourth of this number, and of the immigrants from the states, a mixed population of every variety of notions as to law and right. Besides this population there were a large number of Indians in every part of the State. As late as 1814 it is said there were 30,000 to 40,000 in this class.‖

With Governor Edwards also came Jesse B. Thomas, Alexander Stuart and Obadiah Jones, appointed by the President as judges of the territory of Illinois. Jones and Stuart soon thereafter resigned, and their places were filled by Stanley Griswold and William Sprigg, and thus constituted the territorial federal court continued until the admission of the State in 1818.

The supreme or general court, as it was sometimes called, held by these federal judges, had concurrent original jurisdiction in all cases and matters pertaining to real and personal property, and exclusive jurisdiction of the higher criminal offenses and in equity. It had appellate jurisdiction in all cases from inferior courts.¶

The courts of common pleas were also continued in service until 1818, when six circuit judges were appointed and continued in service until superseded by the State courts under the Constitution of 1818.

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* Western Annals, 219.
† *Ib.*, 718.
‡ Reynold's "My Own Times," 67.
§ *Ib.*, 104.
‖ Rev. R. W. Patterson's Lecture, 112.
¶ I. Moses' History of Illinois, 263.

Of these federal judges, Judge Jesse B. Thomas seems to have been the most conspicuous. After serving the territory from 1809 to 1818, he was chosen president of the Convention which formed the first Constitution, and was subsequently elected to the United States Senate, and at the expiration of his term elected as his own successor. In this position he was quite a distinguished member of the United States Senate, and the author of the "Missouri Compromise."

Governor Ford, in his history, speaks highly of the qualities of Judge Thomas, and says that his motto was: "No man can be talked down with loud, bold words; but any man might be whispered to death."

Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., the nephew of Judge Thomas, became a member of the Supreme court in 1843, which position he held until the adoption of the Constitution of 1848.

With no change in its Executive, and few changes in other territorial officers, the territory increased in population and wealth marvellously from 1809 to 1818, when the State, with what we know as the Constitution of 1818, was admitted into the union of states, with a government modelled after the American fashion of commonwealths, in which provisions were made for the three departments of government—the legislative, the executive and the judicial.

The population of the State at this time was 34,620.

ILLINOIS AS A STATE.

The first constitution of Illinois provided for a Supreme Court to consist of a chief justice and three associates, to be chosen by a joint vote of the General Assembly and commissioned by the Governor; and also for such inferior courts as the General Assembly should from time to time ordain and establish. It also provided that those judges first chosen to the Supreme Court, should only hold their offices until the first legislative session after January 1, 1824.

The court, as first chosen and organized, consisted of Chief Justice Joseph Phillips, and Thomas C. Browne; John Reynolds and William P. Foster, associates.

Judge Phillips had been a captain in the regular army and after his resignation of that office, became the Secretary of State for the Territory of Illinois; being a lawyer and a man of high order of talent, he was chosen to be Chief Justice. He held this office until July 4, 1822, when he resigned to become a candidate for the office of Governor, against Edward Coles. He was unsuccessful in this contest and Ford says in his History of Illinois, (*), was so disappointed that he at once left the State in disgust and ever afterward resided in the State of Tennessee. Only eleven cases decided during the term of office of Judge Phillips are reported, so he can hardly be said to have established a reputation as a jurist. His absence from the first term is noted. None of the opinions in the cases disposed of during his term are shown to have been prepared by him.

Judge Browne, who was also a candidate for governor at the election of 1822, held his position upon the supreme bench until the reorganization of the court under the constitution of 1848, thirty years.

Judge John Reynolds, one of the first associates, is spoken of by John Moses in his History of Illinois, (†) as a man of great learning, familiar with the Greek, French and German languages, though he affected and made use of the language of the common people. He remained a member of the court until the close of his term in 1825, and was chosen governor of Illinois in 1830.

Governor Reynolds was eccentric, but performed services for the State of the greatest value, especially as a historian.

*Ford's History of Illinois, 28.

†Moses' History of Illinois, 383.

Judge Foster, one of those chosen in 1818, to the supreme bench, seems not to have created a very desirable reputation. Governor Ford says of him, (*) "That he was almost a total stranger in the country; he was a great rascal, but none knew it then, he having been a citizen for about three weeks before his election. He was no lawyer, never having studied or practiced law, but was a man of winning and polished manners and was withal a very gentlemanly swindler from the north part of Virginia. He was assigned to hold courts on the Wabash, and fearful of exposing his utter incompetency never went near any of them. In the course of one year he resigned his high office, but took care first to pocket his salary, and removed from the State. He afterwards became a noted swindler."

In 1822 Thomas Reynolds, by birth a New Yorker, but no relation whatever of John Reynolds, was appointed by the Governor to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Chief Justice Phillips, and served until 1825.

Judge Foster having resigned in 1819, Judge William Wilson was appointed to the vacancy, which position he filled with honor until 1848, a period of 29 years.

The work of this early court is preserved to us in the First Illinois, or Breese Reports, and besides serving its judicial purpose, is an important part of the history of the State.

The court as above constituted, was held for the first two years at the old French capital Kaskaskia, though the government, in all its departments had entirely passed from the control of the ancient inhabitants, the names indicating their participation, rarely appearing, except as litigants.

The court in 1820 followed the capital of the State to Vandalia, where it was held until 1839, when it again followed the capital, in its migrations, this time to the permanent capital city, Springfield.

One of the curiosities of the early court as seen in Breese's Reports, (†) is that while the court from 1822 to 1824 was constituted of four members, yet Chief Justice Thomas Reynolds and Associate Justice John Reynolds, did all the business; at least all the opinions rendered during that time, except an opinion of three lines by Justice Wilson, to which there was a dissenting opinion by Justice John Reynolds, of 13 lines, were written and delivered by the two Reynolds judges. ‡

Judge Thos. Reynolds served on the court until 1825. In 1828 he emigrated to Missouri, and was, in 1840, elected governor of that state.

The constitution of 1818 provided that the supreme judges should hold circuit courts, and these judges did until the reorganization of the court in 1825, when the court was reorganized by the Governor and legislature, with William Wilson as chief justice, and Thomas C. Browne, Samuel D. Lockwood, and Theophilus W. Smith, as associate justices.

This session of the General Assembly also created five circuits and elected as circuit judges, John Y. Sawyer, Samuel McRoberts, Richard M. Young, James Hall, and J. O. Wattles, with salaries of $600 each, the supreme judges getting $800 each. $6,400 a year in all.

The public sense of a wise economy was so shocked at this piece of what seemed reckless extravagance, that the next General Assembly repealed all of the circuit judges, except Judge Young who held court in the northwestern part of the State, out of office, and assigned to the four supreme judges and to Judge Young, the work of holding the circuit court.

There may be more merit in the complaint of the people which caused this piece of legislation than would appear upon a simple statement of the case, when we say that only 45 cases came before the supreme court during the time intervening between 1825 and 1827.

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* Ford's History of Illinois, 31.

† Breese' Reports, 15 to 54.

‡ NOTE.—These gentlemen are spoken of as brothers by some historians, but I am informed by those who know that they were of no kin whatever.

The business of the circuit court was transacted by the four supreme judges and one circuit judge, Young, for eight years and until 1835, when another act was passed providing for eight circuit judges to be chosen by the people.

By an act passed Feb. 10, 1841, (*) all of these circuit judges, or those chosen in their places, were repealed out of office. The same act provided for and added five more judges to the supreme court and assigned the nine judges to the circuit work in addition to holding two terms each year of the supreme court.

Sidney Breese, Thomas Ford, Walter B. Scates, Samuel H. Treat, and Stephen A. Douglas were chosen to fill up the court as reorganized. †

The new judges at once took their places upon the bench, and, with the court as thus constituted, the judicial business of the State, both *nisi prius* and appellate, was transacted until the adoption of the constitution of 1848.

Changes in the personnel of the court took place. Judge Thomas Ford was elected Governor in August, 1842, when Judge John D. Caton, formerly a circuit judge, was appointed in his place. Judge Sidney Breese was chosen United States senator in 1843, and James Semple was chosen to succeed him. So Judge Stephen A. Douglas was likewise chosen United States Senator in 1847, and Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., was chosen as his successor. Judge Theopilus W. Smith, chosen to the supreme bench in 1825, resigned Dec. 26, 1842, and was succeeded by Richard M. Young, formerly a circuit judge, who was chosen in his place. James Shields also a circuit judge, was chosen in the place of Judge Semple, who resigned. The term of appointment of Judge Caton having expired, John M. Robinson was chosen in his place and, on the death of Judge Robinson, in 1843, Judge Caton was appointed to fill the vacancy.

Of the names here given the reader will recognize many who for many years afterwards, figured very prominently in our State history. Judge Thomas Ford served the State as Governor with the greatest fidelity, and at his death left an unpublished history of the State which has since been published and is held in the highest esteem.

Judge Sidney Breese, after having served his country in the United States Senate one term, during which service he was most prominent in the movement which resulted in the building of the Illinois Central railroad, and in the completion of the railroad to the Pacific ocean, again took up the judicial service, as one of the circuit judges of the State, from which position he was again, in 1857, chosen to the Supreme Court, where he served with the approval of the whole State until his death, June 27, 1878. He was one of the longest, in years, of service, upon the bench, of any man in our history. He served the State in a judicial capacity under its three constitutions—1818, 1848, 1870.

Judge Breese was a cousin of Samuel Breese Morse, the inventor of the magnetic telegraph, and both were descendants from an officer of the British army and navy, who came to this country and died in New York, in colonial times. ‡

James Shields was chosen Senator in place of Judge Breese, perhaps more on account of military service and a wound he received in the Mexican war, than on account of his merits. It was said by Justin Butterfield, a witty lawyer, in speaking of the event of this senatorial election, "The ball that went clear through Shields, without hurting him, or even leaving a scar, killed Breese, a thousand miles away."

Judge Samuel H. Treat, chosen in 1841 to the supreme bench, was then a young man just commencing to practice in the central part of the State. At the reorganization of the Supreme Court under the constitution of 1848, Judge Treat was again elected to that position where he served until 1855 when he was appointed by the President of the United States to be district judge in

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* 2 Scammon's report V.
† 3 Scammon's report III.
‡ 53 Harper's Magazine, 868.

the Federal court for the southern district of Illinois. In this position he served with distinguished ability until March 27, 1887, when he died after a service as a judge in the Illinois courts of 48 years.

Judge Stephen A. Douglas, whose fame as a statesman makes it unnecessary to comment upon his career, served in the United States Senate from 1849 until the year 1861, when he died, greatly to the regret, not only of his constituency, but of the entire nation. It may be interesting to say here that his first case in our Supreme Court, of which in 1841, he became a member, was at the December term, 1835, when as State's attorney, he represented the people of the State in a case which went up from Morgan county. He also, at the same term, appeared as attorney in an unofficial capacity.

Judge Richard M. Young was first elected Circuit Judge in 1825, for the Fifth circuit, which embraced all of the State to the north of the Illinois river. By re-elections he held this position until 1836, when he was chosen United States Senator for a term of six years. After the expiration of this term he was chosen, as above stated, a Judge of the Supreme Court.

Judge Young performed the duties of Circuit Judge when he was compelled, in the discharge of his duty, to travel from his residence in Quincy, to Ottawa, Galena and Chicago, on horseback, when the country afforded neither roads nor bridges.

Judge James Shields, to whom reference has been made, was in 1849, elected to the United States Senate in the place of Judge Breese as has been stated above. He was subsequently a major general in the Federal army during the war of the rebellion, after which he was chosen as United States Senator from both the states of Missouri and Minnesota.

Judge Samuel D. Lockwood was elected to the Supreme Court by the Legislature in 1824, and faithfully performed the duties of the position until the adoption of the constitution in 1848. Before this preferment he was Secretary of State and Attorney General, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1847. His duties as a judge much of the time required him to hold the courts of the Springfield circuit, where were employed the most eminent lawyers of the State, as well as to travel through many of the newer counties. After his retirement he was chosen trustee of the lands of the Illinois Central railroad, and his name appears upon more deeds for Illinois lands than that of any other man. Moses, in his history, says of him, "No man stood higher in respect to purity of character, sound judgment and eminent ability." (*) He lived long at Jacksonville and afterwards at Batavia, where he died April 23, 1874.

Governor Ford says in his history, (†) "The judges in early times in Illinois were gentlemen of considerable learning and much good sense and held their courts mostly in log houses or in the bar rooms of taverns, fitted up with a temporary bench for the judge and chairs or benches for the lawyers and jurors. Much has been said by some of our local historians in derogation of the learning and ability of the men filling those positions in early times, and funny stories told of their evasion of judicial duties to avoid making enemies; but the untarnished record for learning and rectitude left by them in their report of cases must forever secure their memories against these impeachments. Judge Thomas Reynolds would have ranked respectably at any bar in the United States." ‡

The reason underlying the reorganization of the supreme court in 1841, as above set forth, is given by Governor Ford in his history (§) as due to a suspicion on the part of the dominant party that a case then pending before the supreme court, involving the right of an unnaturalized citizen to vote at the approaching election would be decided adversely to the dominant party. "This affair," says Governor Ford, "made it desirable that the supreme court should be supplied with a majority favoring a decision in favor of unnaturalized foreigners as voters at the elections in Illinois." So the act

* II Moses' History of Illinois, 554.
† Ford's history of Illinois, 86.
‡ Ford's history of Illinois, 86.
§ Ford's history of Illinois, 220.

passed the legislature repealing out of office all of the circuit judges, then in service, and adding to the number of the supreme judges, five gentlemen of approved political inclinations who with Judge Smith upon the bench, made a clear majority of three in favor of the foreigner.

Among the most difficult matters the early courts were called upon to decide were the many questions involving grants of land made to individuals, by the different governments which had held jurisdiction over Illinois since the first settlement of the French. This work was by no means fully completed by these early courts, for, since the establishment of the supreme court of Illinois, as its reports of adjudicated cases show, this has been a not inconsiderable source of litigation, and may continue so to be unless quieted by our limitation laws. *

The want of sufficient jails, or in most counties, of any jails whatever, was a great evil in those early times. "For the first ten years of the State," says Brown in his history of Illinois, "I do not recollect of but one jail that would hold a criminal against the law, and that was at Belleville." The offender could not be detained to await trial and the uncertainty of the legal punishment of criminals led to the formation of bands of regulators, who administered certain and speedy justice.

As has been said above, the volume of reports prepared by Sidney Breese, the first reporter of the Supreme Court, was published in 1831; printed by Robert K. Fleming, Charter street, Kaskaskia, and contained 336 pages. The reporter said in his preface that it was "submitted with great diffidence."

The constitution of 1848, provided for the division of the State into three grand divisions, in each of which one supreme judge should be elected, the first terms of office to be determined by lot, and after that the term to be nine years. It also provided for the holding of one term of this court in each of these grand divisions each year. The law subsequently fixed the bounds of these divisions and the places of holding the courts, as at Mt. Vernon, Springfield and Ottawa. The December term, 1848, the first term held under the constitution of that year, was held at Mt. Vernon.

The courts of Illinois, like all other human courts, are now and always have been, as free from the baneful influences of human passions as those of other peoples, and probably no more so. Party politics has its innings, and the pull of party favorites has not at all times been absent from our highest courts. Conspicuously true was this condition of things in our Supreme Court about the year 1840, when the good Governor Carlin desired to replace an old office holder in the position of Secretary of State with one of his own way of thinking, as to the relative value of Whig and Democratic counsels. He claimed the right of removal as his, in the case of the Secretary of State. His nominee being refused possession of the office, brought suit for the office and its emoluments, and was refused the position by a strictly party vote of the members of the court, where a majority of the members were Whigs, and unfriendly to Democratic aspirants to office. This fact, when discovered by the Democratic majority of the State, made a reconstruction of the court necessary in view of a question then pending in the court, or likely to be brought before it, as to the right of unnaturalized foreigners to vote at elections in this State. With three Whigs and but one Democrat in the court, it became certain that 10,000 Democratic votes would be ruled out at the next election, which might change the vote of the State.

A bill was introduced into the Legislature abolishing the offices of the nine circuit judges and providing for the addition of five judges to the Supreme Court, who, with those already upon that bench, should hold the circuit courts, in addition to the work of the Supreme Court. Of course the measure was somewhat revolutionary; but the necessity for its passage was upon the majority, and it passed and was approved by the Governor. Thus the court, with its five additional members, was of a composition to do to the foreign born voter no harm, and the new Secretary of State was secure in his office. †

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* Moses History of Illinois, 199.

† Ford's History of Illinois, 219.

It is not the purpose here to criticise any one's motive or action, but rather to detail a portion of the history of our courts.

Two of the members of our Supreme Court have been treated to some experience under the clause of the constitution, which provides for the removal of judges of the court by impeachment.

Judge Theophilus W. Smith, who became a member of the court in the year 1825, brought down upon his head enough of opposition in eight years of service to provoke charges of malpractice and corruption in office at the hands of the lower house of the General Assembly, which were duly brought before the Senate, as the high court of impeachment, at the session of 1832. Benjamin Mills, John T. Stuart, James Semple, Murray McConnel and John Dougherty, prosecuted upon the part of the house, and Judge Smith was defended by Sidney Breese, Thomas Ford and Richard M. Young. The trial lasted for more than a month and resulted in an acquittal, less than a majority of two-thirds voting for a conviction.

The other prosecution was instituted by the House of Representatives against Judge Thomas C. Browne, who was one of the first judges chosen in 1818, and in spite of much opposition remained upon the bench until legislated out of office by the constitution of 1848. An authority says of him, that "He was kind and gentlemanly in his deportment, and friendly to all, but possessed no legal attainments, and was utterly unfit for the high and responsible position which he occupied." In short, that he was simply incompetent. At the session of 1842 three charges of incompetency were presented to the Senate against this judge of 24 years service upon the highest court of the State, who had twice been chosen by the Governor and General Assembly, by the House of Representatives represented by Thomas Drummond, S. C. Hempstead, Thompson Campbell and A. L. Holmes. The Senate, however, declined to examine the charges. *

Under the constitution of 1818, judges were suspected of political bias, so, to place them above any such influences, the constitution of 1848 fixed a day for the election of supreme and circuit judges apart from the election of other officers. This precaution was also followed by the framers of the constitution of 1870. The measure seemed to be effective for 25 years or more, but for more than a quarter of a century since then and up to this time politics has held control in all judicial elections in the State, no judge, of whatever grade, having been chosen during that time, except as the nominee of a party convention. It cannot be said, however, that the quality of our judiciary has suffered.

Under the constitution of 1848, which provided for a Supreme Court of three judges, one to be chosen from each of the three grand divisions, and for circuit judges, one for each circuit, Judge Lyman Trumbull was chosen from the first, or southern grand division, Judge Samuel H. Treat from the second or central grand division, and Judge John D. Caton from the third or northern grand division, at the election of September 4, 1848. Judge Trumbull resigned in 1853. He was succeeded by Judge Walter B. Scates, the same year, and he in turn was, in 1857, succeeded by Judge Sidney Breese, who remained in this position until his death in 1878.

Judge Treat, upon his resignation in 1855, was, the same year succeeded by Judge O. C. Skinner, and he in 1858 by Judge P. H. Walker, who served until his death in 1876. Judge Caton, after a long service upon both benches, resigned in 1864, when for a few months, his place was ably filled by Judge Corydon Beckwith; but at the election of that year Judge C. B. Lawrence was chosen successor. He filled the position one term of nine years.

Of the judges above named as chosen under the constitution of 1848, Judges Walker and Lawrence were in office at the adoption of the constitution of 1870 and were not displaced by it; but to their number were added that year; with Judge Breese, whose term expired by limitation, with the constitution under which he was chosen, Judges John M. Scott, William K.

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* Bench and Bar, by J. C. Conkling, 45.

McAllister, Anthony Thornton and Benjamin R. Sheldon, who constituted the Supreme Court, made larger in numbers by the addition of the four last named, by the new constitution.

These gentlemen, with their successors in office, have fully sustained the high position in public esteem won by the court before they came to the bench, besides winning new laurels for the individuals, chosen from time to time.

The work of this court since 1818 is shown by 193 volumes of its reports, which, on account of the high character of their legal literature, give to the court a position among similar bodies, second to none.

The student of these reports will be struck by the great diversity in the character of the questions decided by the court, comparing the earlier with the later periods of its history. In the earlier history of the State, say up to 1850, few questions, save such only as might be expected to arise in a purely rural community, came before the court for consideration. Since then great railroad corporations have built 10,000 miles of railroads, and manufacturing and mining enterprises have spread to every county. Litigation in the court well shows the changed character of the populations and industries, if nothing else indicated it. The great questions involved under our drainage, transporation, manufacturing, banking and commercial statutes, almost unknown to the earlier court, have been met and satisfactorily settled by this court.

Since July 1, 1877, the appellate work of our system of courts has, within prescribed bounds, been shared with the Supreme Court, by four Appellate Courts, made up by the assignment, by the Supreme Court, of three circuit judges to each Appellate Court. These courts have met public expectation in the relief they have given to the work of the Supreme Court, and their work is shown in the 96 volumes of their reports, already given to the public.

Under the constitution of 1818, and until that of 1848, the probate work of the people was entrusted by statute to one court of probate, a court of record, held by what the law at first styled a "judge of probate," chosen by the General Assembly, and later by a "probate justice," which officer was both judge and clerk.

Under the constitution of 1848 and continued under that of 1870, there was established as a part of the judicial system, a county court in each county, having a judge and clerk to which original probate jurisdiction was given. Under all of the constitutions, justices of the peace have been provided for, either specifically or inferentially.

No history, or what purports to be a history of our judiciary, is complete which fails to mention, with approving commendation, the names of many eminent men who have served upon the circuit bench of our State with an ability and fidelity which would have done honor to an English bench or to any bench drawing its precedents and traditions from the English judiciary, yet who failed to reach stations upon the supreme or appellate bench, where their work would have attracted general attention, so as to have given them a place in State history.

The limits of this essay are too restricted to permit general notice of these men, yet for its credit a few names must be mentioned.

David Davis, the first to be chosen judge of the eighth circuit, extending from the Illinois river to the east line of the State, under the constitution of 1848, served thereon under what was always practically the unanimous choice of the people, until his elevation to the Supreme Federal Bench, in 1862, which position he resigned in 1877 for a seat in the Federal Senate. He was the closest friend to Abraham Lincoln, and it was while traveling this circuit that a mutual and lasting friendship was formed.

Justin Harlan was chosen by the General Assembly as early as 1835 to hold the court in the fourth circuit, including Vermilion county on the north, and White county on the south. He was one of the judges repealed out of office

in 1841, but again came into office as judge of the same circuit, by election in 1848. In this capacity he served until 1873. He was eccentric and always a public favorite.

Charles Emmerson became judge of the seventeenth circuit in 1853, which position he held until 1867, when he voluntarily withdrew and passed the remainder of his life in retirement. He was such as would have done honor to any court of the civilized world.

Stephen T. Logan was one of those chosen to be circuit judges in 1835, and performed his work in the first circuit, including Pike county on the west and Sangamon on the east. He held office two years, at a salary of $600 per year; an act of forbearance which entitled him to high credit when we consider his eminence as a lawyer.

Joseph E. Gary, elected as a judge of the superior court of Chicago in 1863, still holds the place after a term of service of over 38 years, ten of which were devoted to the work of the Appellate Court of the first district. He is looked up to as a leader in legal learning the State over.

John Pearson, chosen judge of the seventh circuit in 1837, held office until November, 1840, when he resigned in time not to fall under the repealing act of 1841. His circuit included the county of Cook with other counties from the Wisconsin line south half way to the Ohio river. Chicago was coming into existence then enough to make two terms of court of a week each, necessary in each year. The Chicago lawyers and Judge Pearson did not work harmoniously, making the celebrated leading case of "The People of the State of Illinois, upon the relation of William Teale vs. John Pearson," necessary. (*) Judge Pearson was a picturesque character. He died some years since in Danville, at a great age.

Judge L. Oliver Davis of the Danville circuit was elected to the bench in 1861, and served five years; afterwards in 1873, when he was again elected and served until 1885, much of the time upon the Appellate Bench. He left a record which does honor to the bench of Illinois, both for high character and for great learning.

Judge William H. Snyder of the Belleville circuit first came to the bench in 1857, and continued to perform the duties of his difficult position most of the time until 1891. Judge Snyder was a son of Adam W. Snyder, a prominent character in the politics of our State, and himself a prominent figure in State history.

Judge George Manierre of Chicago, will long be remembered on account of his connection with the circuit court of Cook county, when the city of Chicago was first assuming metropolitan airs. He served from 1855 to 1863, the sole judge for the work in Cook county circuit court.

Judge Silas Bryan of the Salem circuit, besides being the father of a prominent presidential candidate, gained great prominence for himself as a wise and conscientious jurist from 1861 to 1873.

Judge David M. Woodson of the Jacksonville circuit deserves a high place among the *nisi prius* judges of the State. For most of the time from 1848 to 1867 he held the courts of that circuit and well deserved the confidence of the people.

Likewise, Judge Cyrus Epler, of the same circuit, from 1873 to 1897, a period in length of time exceeded by some of those above named, but not in the high character of his high services. He has well sustained the reputation of the college town for learned judges and lawyers.

This paper must of necessity omit the particular mention of the names of the eminent attorneys who from time to time filled the office of Attorney General, and as such were an important part of the Supreme Court. Many of them finally occupied places upon the judiciary or other high positions in the State. We may mention briefly the names of Daniel P. Cook, afterwards a member of Congress, William Mears, Samuel D. Lockwood, James Turney, George Forquer, James Semple, afterwards a Supreme Judge and a

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* I Scammon, 458.

United States Senator, Ninian W. Edwards, U. F. Linder, Jesse B. Thomas, Walter B. Scates, George W. Olney, Wickliffe Kitchel, Josiah Lamborn, Edward D. Baker, James A. McDougal, and David B. Campbell. Both Baker and McDougal were afterwards members of the Federal senate.

In this paper so far no notice has been taken of those judges of the federal courts held for the State since its admission, but whose names are among the highest upon our roll of judges.

First the name of John McLean, that eminent Ohioan, who as a judge of the supreme federal court, came here to hold the circuit courts under federal law in connection with the district judges, occupies the highest position. With him sat Nathaniel Pope, from 1818 to 1850, appointed in 1818 the first district judge of the district of Illinois. He served until his death in 1850, when he was succeeded by Judge Thomas Drummond, whose name is second to none. Judge Drummond served the whole State until the division into the northern and southern districts, when he was assigned to the northern district at Chicago, and Judge Treat was appointed to the southern district. Subsequently on the appointment of Judge Drummond to the higher office of judge of the federal circuit court, Judge H. W. Blodgett was appointed district judge at Chicago. The death of Judge Treat in 1887 made way for the appointment of Judge W. J. Allen, and at his death Judge J Otis Humphrey was recently chosen his successor. Judge Kohlsaat also filled the bench in the northern district to succeed Judge Peter Grosscup, who was appointed to succeed Blodgett, resigned.

We have thus briefly traced the development of the third branch of civil government from the pious and gentle sway of the lone missionary priest in the wilderness of Illinois, at the center of the American continent, amid the anarchy and savagery of the untutored heathen, to the fully unfolded and developed court, the ideal of civilization in its present state of advancement, for the settlement of controversies among men. We have seen how simple forms of simple men have given way to the technicalities of the law of civilized men, and in so following this progressive march of the court machinery, we have seen an humble French mission develop into a state, third in population in the American Republic. A century since Illinois was but a colony, with the aboriginal title attached to all of its soil, while today it is an empire of 5,000,000 people, with untold wealth. What, we may well ask, will develop during another century in its laws, its courts and its wealth.

[NOTE—The following table shows the names of all the counties of Illinois, together with the date of their establishment and the counties from which they were taken.]

Counties.	Established	From What Counties.
Adams	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike
Alexander	Mar. 4, 1819	Union
Bond	Jan. 4, 1817	Madison
Boone	Mar. 4, 1837	Winnebago and McHenry
Brown	Feb. 1, 1839	Schuyler
Bureau	Feb. 28, 1837	Putnam, Knox and Henry
Calhoun	Jan. 10, 1835	Pike
Carroll	Feb. 22, 1839	JoDaviess
Cass	Mar. 3, 1837	Morgan
Champaign	Feb. 20, 1833	Vermillion
Christian	Feb. 15, 1839	Sangamon, Montgomery and Shelby
Clark	Feb. 22, 1819	Crawford
Clay	Dec. 23, 1824	Wayne, Lawrence, Crawford and Fayette
Clinton	Dec. 27, 1824	Washington and Bond
Coles	Dec. 25, 1830	Clark and Edgar
Cook	Jan. 15, 1831	Peoria
Crawford	Dec. 31, 1816	Edwards
Cumberland	Mar. 2, 1843	Coles
DeKalb	Mar. 4, 1837	Kane
DeWitt	Mar. 1, 1839	Macon
Douglas	Feb. 16, 1859	Coles
DuPage	Feb. 19, 1839	Cook
Edgar	Jan. 3, 1823	Clark
Edwards	Nov. 28, 1814	Gallatin
Effingham	Feb. 15, 1831	Fayette
Fayette	Feb. 14, 1821	Bond

Counties.	Established	From What Counties.
Ford	Feb. 17, 1859	Vermilion
Franklin	Jan. 2, 1818	Gallatin, White and Jackson
Fulton	Jan. 28, 1823	Pike
Gallatin	Sept. 14, 1812	Randolph
Greene	Jan. 20, 1821	Madison
Grundy	Feb. 17, 1841	LaSalle
Hamilton	Feb. 8, 1821	White
Hancock	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike
Hardin	Mar. 2, 1839	Pope and Gallatin
Henderson	Jan. 20, 1841	Warren
Henry	Mar. 2, 1837	Knox
Iroquois	Feb. 26, 1833	Vermilion
Jackson	Jan. 10, 1816	Randolph
Jasper	Feb. 15, 1831	Crawford
Jefferson	Mar. 13, 1819	Edwards and White
Jersey	Feb. 28, 1839	Greene
JoDaviess	Feb 17, 1827	Peoria
Johnson	Sept. 14, 1812	Randolph
Kane	Jan. 16, 1836	LaSalle
Kankakee	Feb. 11, 1851	Will
Kendall	Feb. 19, 1841	LaSalle
Knox	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike and Fulton
Lake	Mar. 1, 1839	McHenry
LaSalle	Jan. 15, 1831	Peoria
Lawrence	Jan. 16, 1821	Edwards and Crawford
Lee	Feb. 27, 1839	Ogle
Livingston	Feb. 27, 1837	LaSalle, McLean and Vermilion
Logan	Feb. 15, 1839	Sangamon, Tazewell and McLean
McDonough	Jan. 25, 1826	Pike
McHenry	Jan. 16, 1836	Cook
McLean	Dec. 25, 1830	Tazewell and Vermilion
Macon	Jan. 19, 1829	Shelby
Macoupin	Jan. 17, 1829	Greene
Madison	Sept. 14, 1812	St. Clair
Marion	Jan. 24, 1823	Jefferson and Fayette
Marshall	Jan. 29, 1839	Putnam
Mason	Jan. 20, 1841	Sangamon and Tazewell
Massac	Jan. 8, 1843	Pope and Johnson
Menard	Feb. 15. 1839	Sangamon
Mercer	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike and Fulton
Monroe	June 1, 1816	Randolph and St. Clair
Montgomery	Jan. 12, 1821	Bond
Morgan	Jan. 31, 1823	Sangamon
Moultrie	Feb. 16, 1843	Macon and Shelby
Ogle	Jan. 16, 1836	Jo Daviess and LaSalle
Peoria	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike, lastly Fulton
Perry	Jan. 29, 1827	Randolph and Jackson
Piatt	Jan. 27, 1841	Macon
Pike	Jan. 31, 1821	Madison and Bond
Pope	Apr. 1, 1816	Gallatin and Johnson
Pulaski	Mar. 3, 1843	Alexander
Putnam	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike
Randolph	Apr. 28, 1809	St. Clair
Richland	Feb. 24, 1841	Clay and Lawrence
Rock Island	Feb. 9, 1831	Jo Daviess and Mercer
St. Clair	Apr. 28, 1809	First county organized
Saline	Feb. 25, 1848	Gallatin
Sangamon	Jan. 13, 1821	Bond and Madison
Schuyler	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike
Scott	Feb. 16, 1839	Morgan
Shelby	Jan. 13, 1827	Fayette
Stark	Mar. 2, 1839	Knox and Putnam
Stephenson	Mar. 4, 1837	Jo Daviess
Tazewell	Jan. 13, 1827	Peoria
Union	Jan. 2, 1818	Johnson
Vermilion	Jan. 18, 1826	Edgar
Wabash	Dec. 27, 1824	Edwards
Warren	Jan. 13, 1825	Pike
Washington	Jan. 2, 1818	St. Clair
Wayne	Mar. 26, 1819	Edwards
White	Dec. 9, 1815	Gallatin
Whiteside	Jan. 16, 1836	Jo Daviess
Will	Jan. 12, 1836	Cook
Williamson	Feb. 28, 1839	Franklin
Winnebago	Jan. 16, 1836	Jo Daviess
Woodford	Feb. 27, 1841	Tazewell and Livingston

THE BISHOP HILL COLONY.

By Hon. Hiram Bigelow.

To write a complete history of the Bishop Hill colony would require many hundreds of pages, and it is not my purpose to enter upon such a task.

What I shall attempt to do will be to give a brief outline of the origin, growth and decay, of what may not be improperly called a humane, social and religious, self-sustaining institution, that was planted, grew up and finally decayed, on the prairies of Northern Illinois.

In the decade between 1840 and 1850, important changes took place not only with the governments but also among the people of the countries of Europe lying west of the gulf of Bothnia.

In France a revolution was pending which, ere the close of the decade, drove Louis Phillippe from his throne, but it did not give to the country a stable government. Nevertheless, the condition of affairs there did not paralyze thinking men of the school of Charles Fourier, and his coadjutors, but they kept on investigating the needs of the laboring classes; inventing theories and devising plans to better the condition of all such people.

It is a singular fact that nearly all of these thinkers came to the conclusion that the main hope of the future toiler lay in a community of property, and that without it a large portion of the race must inevitably fall back into a state of servitude.

The views of the French Socialists spread to the east, as well as to the west. They found a lodgment in Sweden as well as in this country, but in that country they found an opposition that did not exist here.

While Sweden was, and had been, a protestant country for nearly three hundred years, yet it must not be understood that the term "protestant" had the same meaning to the people of that country as it had to the people of this, for no Patrick Henrys were there to raise their voices and use their influence against the establishment of *any* system of religion by the government; on the contrary, in Sweden, long before the adoption of a constitution by this country, a system of religion was established by the government, and the teachings of Martin Luther "of the pure evangelical doctrine or faith, as declared in the original and unaltered confessions of Augsburg, as adopted and interpreted by the convention of Upsala, in the year 1593," were accordingly adopted. In 1726 a decree was promulgated, prohibiting all forms of worship except those conducted in the regular established churches. This decree was modified by a Royal letter of Jan. 9, 1822, which granted permission to gather in private houses, or in any other place the people might choose, for the purpose of worship, but upon conditions that such gatherings should not take place during the time prescribed by the state church for holding its services; but during such time all were required to be present, and take part in the services of that church.

The government was fully up with the people, in regard to the matter of freedom of worship, and few were called to an account for a breach of the law in that regard, for many years after the promulgation of the decree, and those who were prosecuted through the efforts of the State clergy, were set free by the king as soon as the matter was brought before him. It seems pretty clear that the people were satisfied with the religion in which they had been confirmed, until leaders arose who began to teach them that the doctrines of the State church, were not sufficient for a truly religious people, and at best were only human and therefore not worthy of credence.

Among the leaders, were two men, who became important factors in a new religious awakening, (for it was such). They were Jonas Olsen and Eric Jansen. Jonas Olsen was born in the Parish of Soderala of Helsingland, a Province of Sweden, Dec. 18, 1802, of poor and lowly parentage. He saw, in his early life, his father often while intoxicated, abuse his mother, and he determined to lead a temperate life, although all around him, the habits of the people, including the clergy, were of a bacchanalian character. He had a strong desire to become educated but his environments were such as to for-

bid its gratification. He learned to read the catechism and hymn books of the church and such other religious books as at that time were procurable by a young man situated as he was.

After arriving at manhood, he became engrossed in religious subjects, and as he saw around him, a State clergy dead, as it seemed to him, to the spiritual welfare, of those the clergy were supposed to watch over, his sensibilities became quickened and he determined to arouse the mere formalists of the church from the lethargy, into which he believed they had fallen.

As he had been confirmed at the early age of 15, in the faith of the Established church, he did not seek to undermine or overthrow it, but his attitude towards it was like that of John Wesley towards the Church of England. He could not understand that the church was a place for repose only, where the attendants should lay aside their doubts, and not obtrude them upon those who do not doubt.

Uncultured as he was he could not realize that to turn a church into a school of polemics, was certain to bring about a destruction of the church itself, and herein he was not unlike many other well meaning men, who have assumed that in the darkened ages of the past, lies the golden age of truth, morality and justice, and consequently seek for it in such obscure quarters.

While Jonas Olson was a man of spotless character; a public juror of the state, employed by the year to try cases of law under the Swedish judicial system, and while he had the respect of all who knew him as a good man, still he attended gatherings of sincere religious persons like himself, where at private houses were discussed the questions whether the writings and doctrines of Martin Luther were binding on the consciences of true Christians, and whether they were more than human writings, as well as kindred questions, and particularly, whether it was not possible for men to become so fully sanctified in this life, that they could not possibly be shut out from a glorified life in the world to come. As might have been expected, the discussion of such questions, by men who constantly read their Bibles, and believed in a literal sense, all that they found stated therein, including the holding of property in common, with the further fact, that many of those interested in such discussions, found it impossible to obey the law in regard to the holding of meetings, and begun not only to doubt, but to openly express their doubts, as to the sanctity of the State clergy, led the clergy to cause the "heretics" to be arrested and prosecuted under the law, and accordingly, Jonas Olson and his brother, with other good men, were either arrested or kept in hiding, for, as the wives of the persecuted were in full sympathy with the views of their husbands, many were the devices resorted to by the good wives, to thwart the efforts of the officers and particularly of the State clergy in their attempt to root out the poison that had stealthily crept into the church.

It must be said, to the credit of the King of Sweden, that, although he was the head of the church, when he was appealed to for the remission of penalties against these people, his mercy was seldom denied.

Jonas Olson may be said to have been the father of Devotionalism in Sweden, but what his particular doctrines of belief were it is not easy to determine, and it is doubtful if he ever knew himself; but he was an upright man, a good citizen, and preached nearly to the time he died, in 1898.

Eric Jansen was a different type of man from Jonas Olson. He was born Dec. 19, 1808, in Bishopskulla parish, Uppland, Sweden. His father was the owner of a small farm, and was a moderately thrifty man. Eric was not favored with an education beyond the religious instruction required by the Established church. He believed himself born a religious leader, and nature had endowed him with a rare gift of eloquence and the power to sway large bodies of men. After experiencing what he believed to be a miracle, he turned his whole power and strength into religious channels. The Bible was the only book he cared for, and he became a constant reader and earnest expounder of it. His services as a preacher and expounder of the Scriptures were in constant demand, and his sermons are said to have been almost interminable in length, and yet the people listened to him gladly. He attributed

the woes and sufferings of the people to a lack of religious faith, and as to the Established church he reckoned the faith of it dead. He seems to have wavered in his own religious views for some time, and if ever he came to any definite conclusion as to what they were, in so far as theological doctrines were concerned, he carried the knowledge of them to his grave, without making it known even to his followers. Of one thing he might be, and certainly was, sure, and that was the punishments he received, at the instigation of the clergy of the Established church, were cruel and brutal in the extreme, and that he had done nothing to merit any punishment, for he considered it no crime to meet with his followers, in the open roads and streets, and publicly burn the books and writings of the leading officials of the State church, which the poor people had paid for, and then owned, and which they believed were detrimental to their true religious welfare.

In his pilgrimage through parts of Sweden he met with Jonas Olson, and the two became warm friends, since each was working to the same end. Their followers rapidly increased in numbers, and while the most of them were poor, there were no persons among them of bad habits or character; all were industrious and frugal.

Having caught a glimpse of the teachings of the French socialists, and on comparing them with lives of the early Christians as they read of them in their Bibles, and fully realizing that they could not remain in Sweden and enjoy their simple religion unmolested by the State clergy, they concluded to leave their homes and the land of their birth and seek new homes elsewhere; and having heard of a country across the seas to the west, where land was cheap, the soil fertile, and, better than all, where there was no Established church to oppress them, and which they had good reason to hate for having done so. In 1845 they dispatched a messenger, Olof Olson, a brother of Jonas Olson, to America, to find a place for a colony to locate. On arriving in the city of New York, Olof Olson met one Hedstrom, a Methodist preacher on a Bethel ship, and Hedstrom gave him a letter of recommendation to his brother, who resided at Victoria, in Knox county, in this State, to which place Olson came, and after viewing the country, wrote back to his friends in Sweden encouraging news; whereupon, those who had property there, put it in a common fund, to pay the expenses of those who had none, in getting to this country. Among those who had most, and yielded all, were three notable men, Lars Gabrielson, Eric Olson and Olof Stoneberg, all of whom have passed away, leaving memories such as only good men can leave behind.

In 1846, Jonas Olson, with several hundred of his followers, left Sweden and came to Illinois, and located about 12 miles north of Victoria, in Weller township, Henry county, on the south branch of the Edwards river, calling the place where they settled Bishop Hill, after their home in their fatherland. Here they purchased some small tracts of land and commenced a new life, so far away from their native homes and kindred that their friends and relatives left behind had scarcely a hope of ever seeing or hearing from them again. They commenced building homes for themselves and families as best they could, but the homes secured that year were exceeding primitive.

A second ship load left Sweden in the same year, but neither ship nor passengers were ever heard from again. The number of persons who arrived that year, from the best information now obtainable, was upwards of 500.

At that time no person was allowed to leave Sweden without a passport, and Eric Jansen, who was under surveillance by the government clergy, and unable to obtain a passport, with two or three followers, crossed over the mountains on snowshoes into Norway, and taking ship at Christiana came to this country, arriving in the summer of that year. The people were compelled to live in tents and sod houses, but built an adobe kitchen, where the cooking was done for all of them. The country around them was unsettled. The nearest mill was at Milan, nearly 40 miles distant. They were more than 50 miles from Peoria and 150 miles southwest from Chicago. The sufferings they underwent during the winter of 1845–46 can not now be fully portrayed, but they did not murmur, for their leaders were with them to share their suffering.

In 1847 and 1848, the tide of immigration kept up, so that at the close of the year 1848, according to the best information now obtainable, the total number that had arrived in the three years, could not have been less than 1,200 souls. In 1849 the tide was quite as high as in the years previous. Immigrants for the west, at that time, after arriving at New York, came up the Hudson river by steamer to Albany, and from thence west to Buffalo by canal, and from Buffalo they came around the Lakes to Chicago, and from Chicago the most of the Swedish immigrants, female as well as male, walked to their destination at Bishop Hill. On the way from Buffalo to Chicago in 1849, a large number of these immigrants were stricken with cholera and many of them died before reaching their destination. That year was a sad one for these people, as the dread disease followed them to Bishop Hill, and from thence to LaGrange, a small settlement about 12 miles northwest of Bishop Hill, whither they went hoping to escape the disease. More than 200 of them died from this plague, and the sunken graves now to be seen at Bishop Hill, are reminders of what sorrows these sincere, honest, industrious people met with that year. This calamity checked the tide of immigration for a time.

An incident occurred in connection with the raging of the cholera, that marked the difference between these confiding people, who had put their all into a common fund for the benefit of all, and who had been struggling, since their arrival in a strange country, where all of the people spoke a strange language, to alleviate the wants and woes of their fellow countrymen, and a certain type of so-called manhood, that some times obtrudes itself where it can do little good, but much harm, and this type of human vermin was not wanting in the calamitous days that fell upon the people at Bishop Hill. While these people were doing their best to save the lives of their countrymen, there were no intelligent doctors in the surrounding country to aid them, but a man named Foster, who professed to be a doctor, (but was in fact a pretentious horse doctor) came to attend the sick and dying, and, measuring his services by cows, took all the people possessed, and left them, not one.

Some land at the edge of Red Oak grove that had been subdued by grubbing it by hand, in the summer and autumn of 1846, produced good crops of grain in 1847, and the wheat was threshed while in the straw, by striking it across the chimes of barrels, and the kernels falling on blankets were thus gathered and the chaff winnowed from the wheat and the wheat taken to Milan, on Rock river, near Rock Island, and ground, and this flour was a great relief to the first comers, who had opened the way to what was soon to become a land of plenty.

Among the people who came were men skilled in handicrafts, such as brickmakers, bricklayers, carpenters, wagon makers, cabinet makers, blacksmiths, tanners, tailors, shoemakers, and others, while the women were skilled in spinning and weaving, and especially in making linen cloths. All were industrious and few, if any, drones were among them. They purchased more land, some of it in Red Oak Grove, about a mile from the place where they had first located; this land was covered with timber, and as no coal had then been discovered in the country, it was of much greater value than the best prairie land. The titles to the lands were taken in the names of some of the leading members of what was then called "The Bishop Hill Society." Before they purchased the timber land, a saw mill had been erected upon it, and this timber and sawmill became of almost priceless value to the people, for they soon began to manufacture lumber for building purposes. In 1848 they built a large frame church, but having suffered for want of shelter, and having at this time only some log buildings and the sod houses erected in the two previous years, they made the church building perform a double service.

They first built a large basement, which was cut up into dwelling rooms for families, and the first story above it was utilized for the same purpose, and the upper story only was used for a church. Here, Eric Jansen and Jonas Olson preached to the devout flock that always on the sabbath, and often during the week, assembled to hear the earnest words that fell from their lips, and while Jansen's course, within less than two years after the church

was erected, was cut short by an untimely death, Jonas Olson kept on expounding the Scriptures in his devout and earnest manner, as he had learned to do, in the land of his nativity, for half a century after Jansen's death. The church building still remains, and a quaint old structure it is, with its outside stairs on either side, leading to and from the large audience room above, fitted with smoothly worn black walnut seats, which seem to have been made to last a thousand years.

As he who preached there so long was stern and rugged, and expounded a stern and rugged religion to sincere and rugged followers, of whom there are few now left, the building, with its rough beams and primitive form and finish, speaks of a people that seem long past. The same year the church was built, the colony people commenced to make brick, and the following year erected a brick building, 45x100 feet, three stories high above the basement. Not long after, the building was enlarged by the addition of another 100 feet, thus making it 45x200 feet. The upper stories of this building were cut up into family living rooms, and thus was first introduced into this country, so far as I am able to learn, the plan of living in "flats." The first story above the basement was fitted up and used for a kitchen and dining room, and at the long tables in this room, the people assembled for years thereafter, as a clock, made by a member of the colony and set in a tower near by, struck the hour for meals, and received their repasts as the early Christians are supposed to have done. The clock still remains, striking the time as perfectly as when first constructed, but some of those who were used to gather there ceased to do so not long after Fort Sumpter was fired upon, for many of the colonists rushed forward to uphold the flag of their adopted country, and I never heard of one disloyal to it

About the year 1848, a man named John Root said to have been an officer in the Swedish army, and who was a soldier in the American army, in the war with Mexico, came to the colony and married a cousin of Eric Jansen. Root soon became dissatisfied with life at the colony and went to Chicago, taking his wife with him, but was pursued by some of Jansen's followers, his wife taken from him, and bought back to the colony. She was again taken by Root, who started with her for St. Louis, where he had friends, and on the way was taken again and brought to the colony. For this Jansen was arrested and taken to Cambridge, the county seat of Henry county for trial, and on the 13th of May, 1850, at the noon hour, when the court had adjourned for dinner, Root shot and killed Jansen in the court house. For this offense he was indicted in Henry county, but on account of the feeling of the people of the then sparsely settled county, the venue of the case was changed to Knox county, where at the September term of 1852, of the circuit court of that county, he was tried found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to the penitentiary for two years, but not long after he was pardoned by the Governor, went to Chicago and soon died there. His wife, Mrs. Root, is still living at Bishop Hill.

At this time, the excitement at the discovery of gold in California was running high, and Jansen, not long before his death, against the desire of Jonas Olson, had sent Olsen and several of his followers to California in search of the precious metal, which, on account of the constant addition of immigrants to the colony, was needed for the payment of debts, for the purchase of land, supplies, and for building purposes. Olson, immediately upon his arrival in California, heard of Jansen's death, and without delay started to return home, arriving there as soon as the methods of travel, then existing, would permit. On his arrival he concerned himself with the worldly and spiritual affairs of the colony and its members.

The followers of Jansen were amazed at his death, and for some time thereafter, such was their faith in him, many believed he would return to them again, but the laws of the physical world, not permitting such a thing, his wife, within a reasonable time after his death, married again.

At that time about 2,000 acres of land had been secured in the immediate vicinity of Bishop Hill, either by entry at the government land office at Dixon, or by purchase from the owners.

The people broke and cultivated their lands, raising rye, wheat, flax, and wool, so that with their knowledge of spinning and weaving they soon had an income from the sale of their woven fabrics, for as the country around them soon began to settle up; the Swedish cloths, because of their excellent quality, found ready purchasers.

They soon built a grist mill which at first was run by water furnished in times of high water, by the south branch of the Edwards river; but as their wants, and those of the settlers coming into the country around increased, they added steam power to the mill. They also manufactured excellent wagons for which they found a ready sale. Whatever they did, they did well. They opened a school at an early date, employing an English teacher, so that their children could learn the language of the country, for they seemed to have an intuitive conception that they would wrong their children if they did not assist them to grow up Americans. In this they were wise beyond the people of any other nationality, who have settled here without a knowledge of the English language.

In 1853 the legislature of this State granted the colonists a charter, which may be found in the private laws of Illinois of 1853, page 328. It is as follows:

"SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, That Olof Johnson, John Olson, James Erikson (Jonas Ericson), Jacob Jacobson, Jonas Cronberg, Swan Swanson, Peter Johnson and their associates and successors, be and they are hereby constituted and appointed a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of 'The Bishop Hill Colony', and by that name they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession, shall be capable of suing and being sued, defending and being defended, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered, within all courts and places whatsoever; that they may have a common seal to alter or change the same at pleasure; may purchase and hold or convey, real and personal property necessary to promote and fully carry out the objects and interests of said corporation. The number of trustees shall be seven, and the above named persons are hereby appointed and constituted trustees of said corporation.

"§ 2. The real and personal estate held and owned by said trustees in their corporate capacity shall be held and used for the benefit, support and profit of the members of the colony.

"§ 3. The business of said corporation shall be manufacturing, milling, all kinds of mechanical business, agriculture and merchandising.

"§ 4. The said trustees above appointed shall hold their office during good behavior, but are liable to be removed, for good cause, by a vote of a majority of the male members of the colony.

"§ 5. All vacancies in the office of trustees, either by removal, death, resignation or otherwise, shall be filled in such manner as shall be provided by the by-laws of such corporation.

"§ 6. The said trustees and their successors in office, may make contracts, purchase real estate, and again convey the same, whenever they shall see proper so to do, for the benefit of the colony.

"§ 7. All the real estate heretofore conveyed by any person or persons to the trustees of the Bishop Hill society, shall be and the titles to said land are hereby invested in the said trustees above appointed, for the use and purpose above specified.

"§ 8. The said Bishop Hill colony may pass such by-laws concerning the government and management of the property and business of said colony, and the admission, withdrawal and expulsion of its members, and regulating its internal policy and for other purposes connected with the business and management of said colony, as they may deem proper, not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this State.

"§ 9. This act shall be deemed and taken as a public act, and shall be construed liberally, for the benefit of said colony."

Approved Jan. 17, 1853.

This charter is probably more comprehensive than any ever granted in this State. It has never been repealed or annulled.

While the older persons who first settled at Bishop Hill, were for some years satisfied with their lot, such was not the case with the young people, for they soon learned to speak English, and as the country was being rapidly settled, Swedish help, both male and female, was in demand (and until the present time the demand has not ceased). As a consequence the young and apparently "green Swedes," as they were often called, mixing with the well informed native immigrants from the states east of the great lakes, rapidly learned the ways of the natives, and left the colony never to return.

At one time, before Jansen's death, he had enjoined his followers to lives of celibacy. This, however, was an economic measure, while the people were without houses to shelter them, and the tide of immigration was highest; and its attempted enforcement ceased, on the receipt of bounteous crops, and the construction of comfortable homes.

In 1854, the Central Military Tract railroad (now a part of the main line of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad) was built, running five miles southeast of Bishop Hill through the present village of Galva. The building of the railroad caused a rapid settlement of the contiguous country. The colony then owned about 5,000 acres of land, the most of which was under cultivation, and was producing large crops of grain and broomcorn, which readily found a market in Chicago. The years 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856 and 1857 were the halcyon years of the colony. The number of persons there in the latter years was about 800. The communistic system of living was quite thoroughly carried out, although the religious side of it had begun to wane. The trustees purchased more lands and the corporation must have owned, or had contracted for, at least 8,000 acres at the close of the year 1857. Up to that time it had built a number of brick buildings; for a hotel, mechanics' shops, and for dwellings, and had become indebted so that it was compelled to borrow $50,000 to pay its debts.

The leading financial man among the trustees, was Olof Johnson. He cared little for the religious part of the institution but as he was affable and endowed with pleasing manners and for those times handled much money, he was thought to be well qualified to manage the finances of the institution, and accordingly was given entire control of them, but either because of the lack of ability, or of the financial crash of 1857, which was severely felt in the west for several years, or of both, he proved to be a failure. The men and women able to do so, worked in the fields and the communistic system was kept up, until the war of the rebellion broke upon the country, when many of the younger colonists enlisted in the Union army, which had a decided influence on those who remained at home, and about one-half of them, under the leadership of Olof Johnson, insisted upon a division of the colony property, which the other half, under the leadership of Jonas Olson, consented to, and accordingly a committee was appointed to allot the property to individuals. The lands that the Johnson party took were surveyed by Eric Lindstrom, a member of the colony, and taking the heads of families, both father and mother, an amount of property both real and personal, was fixed upon for them, and to this was added further amounts for each child of the family, down to children two years of age, and in this way the property was divided up with little friction because of the manifest justice of the method adopted. The members of the Johnson party took immediate possession of the property of which deeds were made by the trustees, but all of them were not delivered at the time the division was made, because some of the lands were encumbered with mortgages, which it was supposed would be paid from property reserved for that purpose. Two or three years after the division of the property of the Johnson party, a like division of the property of the Olson party was made. After the division of the property many colonists sold their holdings and moved west; some to Iowa, some to Nebraska and some to Kansas, and wherever they went they were good citizens and prospered.

Notwithstanding that at times, both before and after the death of Eric Jansen, the town of Bishop Hill, was crowded with immigrants, some to remain in this State; some destined for Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, no

crimes of any importance were committed there. English schools have been kept up, and a stranger going to the little village now, will scarcely meet a person who could not address him in English, as fluently as the native born people from the east.

While the communistic element of the colony thus terminated, its legal existence still survived, as it should have done for a time, to settle and pay its indebtedness, but this was not to be, for there seemed to be no one person, at least no one the people could agree upon, that would undertake the task, and while many knew that Olof Johnson, was deficient in the qualities required to judiciously dispose of the property set aside to pay the debts of the colony, which then amounted to between $75,000 and $100,000, he was retained by the trustees for that purpose and was given full power in the premises, and although the people were assessed and paid liberally of their savings, not much if any, of the money reached the creditors, and what became of it the colonists never knew.

By a vote of the members of the colony, Johnson had been appointed its attorney in fact, and the other trustees naturally felt, that whatever was done by him, they were not responsible for, and therefore took little interest in what he did.

In 1868, some of the members of the colony, having become dissatisfied with what had been done concerning the payment of the colony debts, employed a Chicago lawyer, to bring suit against the trustees, and Hiram Sibley and others, to compel the trustees to account for the moneys received by Johnson; to set aside a decree of the circuit court of the United States at Chicago, rendered on a mortgage, made by the colony years before, to Alexander Studwell, for borrowed money, on valuable lands of the colony, and to wind up the colony. This suit was pending in 1870, when Johnson died, leaving an insolvent estate. The suit was apparently vigorously prosecuted for years and about 1877, when, as Justice Mulkey sarcastically said, "numerous so-called decrees," were entered in the case, among them decrees ordering a large amount of lands to be sold to pay, not debts of the colony, for they were paid by the parties to whom the mortgaged lands were alloted, but to pay the attorneys in the case, and the charges of persons prosecuting and defending the suit, amounting to many thousands of dollars. In justice to the judge who signed the decrees, it must be said, that there is little doubt, that the decrees were agreed upon by the attorneys in the case. Many tracts of land were sold by the special master in chancery, the owners of which were not made parties to the suit. The most of the lands were not redeemed from the sale and deeds were made to the purchasers, who were notified at the sale, that possession of the lands would not be voluntarily yielded by the owners. Petitions were filed by the grantees in some of the deeds, for writs of assistance to put them in possession of the lands, among them the lands of John Root, a son of the man who killed Jansen, now a prominent attorney, and master in chancery of the county. His land had been sold for $2,800, and was purchased for the benefit of the attorney who prosecuted the suit. The judge who tried the case, granted a writ of assistance, directing the sheriff of Henry county, to put the petitioner, Lyman M. Payne, in possession of the land. Root appealed the case to the Appellate Court, of the Second district of Illinois, where the judgment of the circuit court was reversed and the suit ordered dismissed. Payne appealed his case to the Supreme Court, where the judgment of the Appellate Court was affirmed, in a caustic opinion by Judge Mulkey. See Vol. 121 Illinois Reports, p. 77. The law governing the remaining cases, being thus determined, the cases were dismissed and never resurrected. The original "Bishop Hill Case" then remained, deserted by those who brought it and their attorney. When the clerk of the circuit court of Henry county was making up the docket of the court for the February term, 1888, a member of the bar of the county suggested to him, that the case be omitted from the docket, which was done, and thus ended the "Bishop Hill Colony."

MAJ. JOHN T. STUART.

MAJOR JOHN T. STUART.

By C. C. Brown.

The Earl of Corke over 100 years ago in his preface to the memoirs of the life of the Earl of Monmouth, who so loyally served Queen Elizabeth, King James and King Charles the 1st and 2nd, uses this language:

"If we have cause, as we undoubtedly have, to lament the darkness through which we are obliged to pervade in the Greek and Roman story, how much more have we to regret the want of light in the annals of our nation? History wants every assistance, be it ever so small, that can be afforded it. Our posterity indeed will have an advantage which our ancestors wanted, by the constant and unwearied publication of papers, and these papers will have the honor to be the corner stones of those historical edifices which may be built hereafter."

This society was formed for this purpose to exploit the history of a great State, and keep green in the hearts of its citizens the names and virtues of its most illustrious sons and daughters.

Therefore all honor to the men, who without reward devote their time and talents to this work. Generations unborn will rejoice in their labors of love. At the request of the society I now proceed to give a sketch of the life of one of our State's most eminent citizens.

John Todd Stuart was born on the 10th day of November, 1807, at Walnut Hills, Ky., a small settlement seven miles from Lexington.

His father, Robert Stuart, was of Scotch Irish descent and a Presbyterian minister at Walnut Hills for many years; his mother, Hannah Todd, was the daughter of ...... Todd. Young Stuart was prepared for college under the tuition of his father and the common schools in the vicinity of his father's home.

He graduated at the Centre college of Kentucky on the 27th day of September, 1826, there being but two graduates in that year. Immediately after his graduation he went to Richmond, Ky., to study law with Judge Daniel Breck, who had married one of his aunts. Judge Breck was a Vermonter, 6 feet 2 or 3 inches in height, and weighed about 225 pounds; he was a sound lawyer, went to Kentucky from his native state at an early day and fought his way mentally and physically to the head of his profession.

Judge Breck in those early days was a candidate for the Legislature against one of the Turners, a family of great wealth and influence. The night before the election he was informed that Turner had purchased every barrel of whiskey in Richmond, that they were to be rolled out on the streets the next day and the heads driven in and the Turner supporters invited to help themselves.

Breck, undismayed, sent out friends to purchase all the tin cups in Richmond and when the barrels were opened, the friends of Breck had the only means of drinking the whiskey.

In this day we hear much of corners on corn, wheat, whiskey and tin plate, but never on tin cups.

On the 19th day of December, 1827, George M. Bibb, William Owsley and B. Mills then Judges of the Kentucky Court of Appeals (and known in history as the Old Court) issued to young Stuart a license to practice law in said state; he returned to Richmond, pursued his studies and in the latter part of October, 1828, started on horseback, accompanied by a Mr. Shackelford for Springfield, Ill., on the 3d day of November, of that year, they reached the little town of Louisville, Clay county, Ill. Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams were candidates for the presidency.

The election was in progress at Louisville; a large, boisterous and intoxicated crowd was around the polls, and in the street through which Stuart and his companion were compelled to ride, the crowd, all Jackson men, surrounded the Kentuckians and insisted that they should vote, in vain they protested claiming that they were not citizens, and therefore not entitled to

vote, the crowd would not relent, and when it became apparent to the Kentuckians that they must vote or fight overwhelming numbers, they asked the mob to allow them to consult together privately, which was granted. In this consultation they both decided that if forced to vote they would vote their sentiments and take the consequences; they went to the polls, their names were called, and to the astonishment and disgust of the bystanders, they voted for John Quincy Adams, the only votes cast for him in that precinct, the whole county of Clay giving but 13 votes for the Adams electors.

On his arrival at Springfield, on the 6th of November, then a small village of less than 500 inhabitants, he commenced the practice of his profession with marked success. His military experience was brief, and as he often remarked, non-hazardous.

On the 11th of May, 1829, there being some apprehension of trouble with the Indians he enlisted and was appointed sergeant major by Tom M. Neale, colonel commanding in the Twentieth regiment of the Illinois State militia. In 1831 he enlisted with Abraham Lincoln and others as a private in Captain Dawson's company Second regiment of Illinois, mounted volunteers for the Black Hawk war, and when the company was mustered into service, he was sent out one night on picket duty, was to be relieved at 12:00 o'clock, but the officer in charge forgot him and when he was relieved early in the morning found he had been elected major of the regiment. Mr. Lincoln at the same time being elected a captain. He was fond of relating his experience in this campaign and telling a good story on himself.

When the time of enlistment of the regiment expired, and it was called together to be mustered out, the field officers were required to ride out 30 paces from the regiment, fire their pistols, wheel and return to the line. One after another of his superior officers rode out, fired their pistols over the heads of their horses, their horses squatted and they wheeled and returned safely to the ranks. Major Stuart rode out on his charger and instead of firing over the head of his horse, shot out from the side, his horse jumped to one side suddenly and threw him into the prairie grass, much to the amusement of his fellow officers and the regiment. Strange to relate, after this war he was universally called and known over the State as "Black Hawk." On the 27th of May, 1832, when his regiment was dischargad, he re-enlisted as a private in Capt. Elijah Iles' company of Mounted Volunteers and was honorably discharged on the 16th of June following.

Printed on this discharge and signed by Capt. Iles are these words: "Illinis Volunteers, who remained after the main army was disbanded, to repel a savage enemy, and protect a bleeding frontier, until new levies could be raised."

In 1832 he was elected to the State General Assembly and re-elected with Abraham Lincoln in 1834. In 1836 he ran for Congress, but was defeated by Wm. L. May, his Democratic opponent. In 1838 the great contest between Stuart and Douglas for Congress in the Third district took place, which not only created widespread interest in Illinois, but in the nation at large. There were 34 counties in the district, running from Cook to Calhoun—36,461 votes were cast, and Stuart's majority was 14. Two counties in the district, Morgan and Sangamon, each polled more votes than Cook—Morgan, 1,111, and Sangamon, 765, more than Cook; more votes were cast in Morgan than in any other county in the district.

The contest was carried on in good humor, the candidates often occupying the same bed at night, until about the close of the campaign. A short time before the election they had a joint discussion in front of the old market house in Springfield. In that debate Douglas used language that Stuart thought offensive, and Stuart, tall and slim, seized his short antagonist around the neck and before friends could separate them, carried him around the market house. Douglas during the scuffle got the right thumb of Stuart in his mouth, and made such an impression that a scar reminded him in his old age of this impulsive and undignified encounter. Stuart was re-elected to Congress over Ralston in 1840. When in Congress he was on the committee on territories and served with distinction during both terms.

Clay, Webster and Calhoun at this time, were in Washington and the first two showed marked attention to the young and promising Whig from Illinois.

Although not a member of the legislature, when the capital was removed from Vandalia to Springfield, yet he was present, and exerted his powerful influence in favor of Sangamon. One of the potent arguments used with the members, was that they gave in Vandalia nothing in the way of meat, but venison, prairie chicken and quails, an argument that would have little weight in this day and generation.

In the campaign against Douglas, Stuart visited Chicago, then a small village, on an electioneering tour. He went to the office of Butterfield, an ardent supporter, a fine lawyer and well known all over the State. While engaged in conversation with Butterfield in a little frame office on the ground floor, two gentlemen passed arm in arm; Stuart anxious to know everybody, inquired who they were. "Oh," said Butterfield in reply, "Two fool Kentuckians—you never saw one in your life that was not born about seven miles from Lexington." Stuart said that as that was his exact distance, he kept silent. This Butterfield was a native of New Hampshire, was quaint but was a great lawyer. In the celebrated case of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, he was chief counsel. Smith was brought before the Federal judge at Springfield, excitement ran high, Judge Pope was on the bench, and the court room was crowded and many ladies in the gallery. Butterfield arose and said: "May it please the court, this is the first time that I have been called upon to defend a prophet of the Lord, before your holiness, the pope, and (turning to the gallery) in the presence of angels." On the 25th of October, 1837, Major Stuart married Mary V. Nash in the city of Jacksonville. Her father, Francis Nash, after the death of his wife, moved from Prince Edward county, Va., to the mouth of the Missouri river about 20 mile above St. Louis in 1823, and died there in 1833. Mrs. Stuart lived for a short time after her father's death with Judge Gamble in St. Louis, and then came to Illinois, and lived until her marriage, with her uncle and aunt, Judge Samuel D. Lockwood and wife. She was beautiful, graceful and intelligent; nothing during her long life escaped her attention that would add to the comfort or happiness of her husband and children, and she endeared herself to all who associated with her. The attachment which Judge Lockwood had for her was beautiful. From the time of her marriage up to his death a correspondence was kept up between them, the judge never failing to express his unbounded affection, and also giving her every detail of family affairs. In a letter written very soon after her marriage, is a curious statement. He writes: "My wife has been ill, but we are putting up a cooking stove, which is said to be a panacea for all evils, in my opinion, however, it will not work." I hope this distinguished jurist's opinion will not be used by the female portion of my audience as evidence that men know little of kitchen affairs. Mrs. Stuart survived her husband nearly 16 years and departed this life on the 31st of last May in Springfield, Ill.

Major Stuart, in compliance with an unwritten law of the district, was not a candidate for Congress in 1842. He served in the Senate of this State from 1849 to 1853. After his election to Congress the law firm of Stuart & Lincoln was formed and continued for some time. His share of the fees, in each case, collected by Lincoln during his absence, was carefully wrapped in brown paper and marked "Stuart's half" and all personal letters were delivered by Mr. Lincoln out of his hat to Mr. Stuart, daily.

In 1843, he formed a partnership with Benjamin S. Edwards, under the name of Stuart & Edwards. In January, 1860, your speaker was admitted as a partner, under the firm name of Stuart, Edwards & Brown, which continued without change until Major Stuart's death, and was then probably the oldest law partnership in the State.

Fully equipped in his early manhood in the principles of law, possessed of a sound judgment and a discriminating mind, he had little difficulty from early manhood to old age in maintaining himself in the front ranks; not, perhaps, a great student, but a great thinker. Accustomed in his early life to very low fees,—when he devoted more time to politics than the law,—he

naturally placed a low estimate on legal services. When a suit was terminated and the time reached for fixing fees, if there was any possible chance to escape, he would leave the office. When he did fix the amount, it was usually placed with the postage stamps and rarely divided.

In the early sixties he was called by an old friend, who was ill, residing several miles from Springfield, to write his will. The roads were impassable and he started one Monday morning afoot. He spent the whole day, disposed of over $100,000 in the will, and reached home after dark. Tuesday morning he came to the office, took down the book, and charged for his services $5.00. One of his partners, who had a more exalted idea of what a lawyer should receive, made it $50. In a few days thereafter his old friend sent him a check for $100, and was pleased to state in his note that he hoped to be able to see him soon and arrange the balance.

Major Stuart was unsurpassed as a chancery lawyer. He rarely demurred to a bill, but usually made an answer that fully set out his defense. I doubt whether the records will show in a long practice the loss of a single case brought by his advice. After considering a case, he did not depend so much on the books as on his own keen sense of justice. In other words, he knew what the law ought to be, and when he argued a case, he cited few authorities.

He devoted his whole time to the practice of law from 1843 until 1863, when he announced himself as an independent candidate for Congress. Although his brothers and sisters, and in fact all his relatives, except his immediate family, were in the South, he never wavered in his desire to preserve the Union. In the circular issued by him August 30th, 1862, when he announced himself as a candidate, he used this language:

"The Constitution provides no mode of dissolving the Union, it has no sanction for secession; when therefore the people of the South make the effort by force to free themselves from the obligations which they owe under the Constitution to the Union, they become rebels and traitors seeking by revolution to destroy the Union and it is the right and becomes the duty of the General Government to put down that rebellion and stay that revolution by the use for that purpose of all its constitutional powers."

In closing that address he further says:

"One thing further I would add, not necessary perhaps in this connection, but I wish to say it, and the occasion is at least not unfit. Mr. Lincoln and myself, as most of you know, have been closely connected for more than a quarter century by many ties, the recollection of which is very dear to me. Difference in political opinion since 1856 has in no wise diminished my respect for the man, or the unbounded confidence I have ever had in his personal integrity. I believe he entertains an ardent desire, and is struggling to preserve the Union and the Constitution as our fathers made them and as a matter of feeling, as well as duty, I would rather aid than embarrass him in all such efforts. If my voice could reach his ear I would be glad to say to him, follow the dictates of your own clear head and patriotic heart and preserve the Union by the ample powers conferred on you by the Constitution and repulse from you any faction, if such there be, which would goad you into a resort to revolutionary means, and for a Union and Constitution so preserved, history will erect monuments for you by the side of Washington."

Although usually grave and dignified he had his humorous side. When he met his lifelong friend, David Davis, he would tell a story that both would heartily laugh over. It seems that Stuart, Lincoln, Judge Treat and Davis were going on horseback to some northeastern county on circuit business. They put up for the night at some country tavern; their horses were brought out the next morning. Stuart, Lincoln and Treat put their feet in the stirrups and mounted their horses without difficulty. Davis, being a very large and fleshy man, led his horse to the stiles. The others twitted him on his inability to mount in the usual way. Davis, much annoyed and vexed, jumped to the ground, put his foot in the stirrup and gave such a vigorous jump as to land on the other side of his horse on the ground. I doubt whether the love of David and Jonathan exceeded the affection that existed between these two men. Davis, in his eloquent eulogy before the Illinois Bar Association over

his dead friend, could not suppress his deep sorrow or hide his tears. I shall never forget one morning after Stuart's death. His body was prepared for burial and lay in a casket in a room darkened by drawn curtains, and in a home where he had spent serenely and happily over 50 years of his active and useful life; a home that had entertained Lincoln, Logan, Douglas, Davis and a great army of distinguished men and women. Davis apppeared with Robert T. Lincoln, the son of another close friend of the dead soldier, statesman and lawyer. Davis could hardly wait for admittance. When ushered into the room he said: "Open the blinds, let in the light; I want to look once more on the face of my earliest and best friend." The old man stood for many minutes gazing for the last time on the mortal remains of one he had loved in life and whom he had known for nearly two generations, and shed bitter tears.

When Lincoln, Logan, Baker and Stuart in an early day, were politicians, there lived in Clary's Grove, Sangamon county, a very queer character, a man of great native ability and known as Tom Edwards. He was a Whig, and a leader of what was known in that day as "the Clary's Grove gang." He was shrewd, and the politicians courted him and had for him genuine respect. As years passed and civilization and education advanced, Edwards lost much of his power with the masses and ceased to be a leader of men. In his later years he was a bee hunter and basket maker. About every three months he would get one of his neighbors to bring a load of honey and baskets to Springfield, then he and his wife, a most estimable woman, would come to Springfield, put up with a brother and remain until he disposed of his baskets and honey. Lincoln, Logan and Stuart were his most liberal customers and he would make their respective offices headquarters. During the war, Lincoln being President, and Stuart in congress, Edwards continued his visits to the capital and sold his commodities to their friends. On one of these visits he was very much concerned about a grandson who had enlisted in the army. He was afraid he might be killed and he was anxious to get his discharge; he wrote to Mr. Lincoln; he wrote to the Secretary of War; he wrote to Mr. Stuart. It was impossible for any one to attend to business while he was present. Finally one of Stuart's partners wrote to him imploring him to give them some relief, and if possible secure the release of Edwards' grandson.

In about one week thereafter the welcome discharge came and Edwards went home to his baskets and honey.

Stuart returned to his home shortly afterwards and one day said to his partners: "Do you know how I secured the discharge of Edwards' grandson? I went one evening to the White House, had a very pleasant visit with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln; before leaving I pulled your letter out of my pocket and asked Lincoln to write a discharge. Lincoln hesitated, and finally said: 'Stuart, I can't do this, Stanton will not let me do it,' very well, I replied, putting the letter in my pocket, I will write to old Tom to come to Washington." I had hardly time to get the letter in my pocket when Lincoln quickly said, "Stuart, give me that letter," and at once wrote the order, evidently preferring the frowns of Stanton to the beseeching presence of old Tom. He also knew that Edwards would finally prevail.

In his canvass against Swett, in 1862, he was very anxious not to stir up party strife and for that reason did not arrange for a joint discussion. Some of the Republican papers intimated that it was through fear of Swett, he being a great orator. Stuart was somewhat nettled at this intimation so one day when Swett was to have a large meeting at Lincoln, Ill., Stuart took the 12:00 o'clock train and reached that city at 1:30. No notice had been given and when the hour for Swett's speech arrived he quickly walked into the court house, and asked Swett to divide time with him. Swett afterwards declared that he had heard many speeches but that this was the most effective and the most eloquent he had ever heard and although he was defeated by Stuart in a Republican district, he maintained ever afterwards that Stuart was a giant in intellect and oratory. In 1864 Stuart was nominated by the

Democrats for re-election to congress against his protest, and was defeated by Shelby M. Cullom. Stuart was in height about six feet, weighing about 200 pounds, with piercing dark eyes, high forehead, and hair tinged with gray. He was, at 50 years of age, a magnificent speciman of manhood. He never passed man, woman or child that he knew without some kind greeting. He was a loyal and devoted friend, a kind and considerate husband, and an affectionate and indulgent father.

Major Stuart took an active part in establishing the Illinois University at Springfield, maintained by the Lutherans; was president of the board of trustees of the Bettie Stuart Institute; was president of the horse railway; president of the watch factory, all in the city of Springfield; and was one of the commissioners appointed by the Governor for the erection of the new State house. No enterprise during his long life, that had for its object, the building up of the city in which he dwelt, or bettering the condition of its citizens, failed to secure his sympathy, or his financial aid, and lastly, I can say with truth, that no setiment of hatred, or ill will to his fellow men, ever rankled in his heart.

On the 28th of November, 1885, surrounded by his family, and only a few days in his 79th year "God's finger touched him and he slept."

In conclusion to show his religious character allow me to read an extract from a speech delivered by him to the old settlers of Sangamon, eight years before his death:

"These early settlers I owe them much, when almost a boy and a stranger they received me with open arms, and have in a thousand ways, showered upon me favors beyond my deserts. I owe them a large debt of gratitude and would do all I might to honor their memories. Most of them are dead and gone, and I hope have settled for all time in a better country around the throne of God and along the banks of 'the beautiful river.' Some few of us old settlers still linger on these coasts of time, one by one they are passing away and those of us who remain are fast becoming strangers amid the new generation around us. We are taught in the Story of the Cross, and we believe, that a great scheme of redemption has been provided by the great Father, and that if we do our duty here to our country, our fellowmen and to our God that somewhere in His great Universe, a heaven has been provided as our happy and eternal home, and the thought is a consoling one, that although fast becoming strangers here, yet when we cross the great River of time which divides that happy land from ours, we will meet more friends there than we leave behind us, that we will know them and they us, and that there the re-union of old settlers will be joyous, complete and without end."

THE STATE'S INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT VENTURE OF 1837-38.

[Dr. Bernard Stuve.]

In 1837, this State entered upon an extensive system of internal improvements which did not improve. The venture resulted in a total failure, and the people had to pay dearly for it.

In some respects this subject may not look inviting; it does not minister to our pride or vanity as Illinoisans—is really about the only thing in the career of the State that we do not commonly brag about. Our orators do not appeal to it in portraying the glories of the State. Occasionally congratulations are quietly passed that it was no worse, or that the Ship of State weathered the storm without stranding on the rocks of repudiation and dishonor; but that is all.

The history of this episode, little of which we hear now-a-days, is, however, not without interest, and may possibly contain a lesson for future like experiments, state or national.

To aid our understanding of the situation at the time the "grand system," as it has been derisively called, was launched, a glance back over a few years may prove helpful. That during the first half of the nineteenth century there was unusual longing among the people of this country for increased facilities for intercommunication and transportation need hardly be said. Occasionally there were rumors in the air of coming wonderful improvements to stir their hope. Meanwhile man's inventive brain and mechanical skill were not idle. Steam power had early been successfully applied to navigation and by 1820 had ceased to be a novelty even in the west. But steam navigation could only be utilized on navigable waters. To reach the great interior areas not intersected by navigable water courses and which were being rapidly settled up was the desideratum of the day. It could only be accomplished by the improvement of the rivers susceptible of it by the digging of canals where the land lay suitable to this construction, by the making of good roads or turnpikes, and by the building of railroads. Railroads during the first quarter of the century, though considerably talked of and written about abroad, were an unknown quantity in this country. Indeed, as late as 1823, Pennsylvania sent a legislative committee to Europe to learn something definite about them.

But all such improvements meant large capital and big expenditures of of money which, in that day, were difficult to get and therefore it was generally conceded that private enterprise was not equal to this accomplishment. The only alternative seemed to be national or state undertaking. As to the former, there was little hope, for the party then generally in control of the government held to the view that Congress had no power to make either gifts to such enterprises or to aid through the credit of the nation. This left it for the states alone to undertake such works.

The year of 1825 marks an era in public improvements, facilitating transportation and travel. In the fall of that year was completed the Erie canal in N. Y., the crowning ambition of Governor Clinton's life; and the building of the first railroad in England under the direction of George Stephenson, the great railroad inventor. The openings of these public works were attended by elaborate civic demonstrations which gave them wide notoriety and which imparted a wonderful impetus to the hopes of people everywhere for like improvements. A moments digression descriptive of these demonstrations may be excused.

At Buffalo a fleet of canal boats was made up, one loaded with a family of Indians, a live buffalo, coyote, racoon, litter of prairie dogs, etc., typical of former main western products, and others laden with wheat, oats, and corn, showing what the west was capable of; while still others were thronged with invited guests, a band of music, etc., the whole fleet gaily decorated with flags and drawn by a dozen fine gray horses. A cask of Lake Erie water was also put aboard. The fleet started down the canal amidst cannon firing, music and the cheers of the people gathered for the occasion. Cannon had been placed within hearing distance of one with another along the route clear to New York city, and, their reports through prearranged signals informed the people from time to time of the progress of the fleet. This it may be said was their mode of telephoning in those days. On reaching the Hudson the fleet was met by a large convoy of steamers and rapidly towed down the river whose banks at many points were crowded with cheering multitudes. At the metropolis apparently the whole city turned out. An industrial parade organized for the occasion made an elaborate display of many handicrafts countermarching at Castle Garden. The fleet passed on to Sandy Hook where with a speech from the Governor, music and cannon firing, the cask of Lake Erie water was emptied into the Atlantic, typifying the navigable union of the Great Lakes with the bread seas of all the world. On the fleet's return in the evening the city was found brilliantly illuminated, and banquets, toasts, congratulatory speeches, and gay balls were the order of the night.

The opening of the first railroad in England took place September 27th, 1825. A train of a dozen or more cars was made up at Stockton, half of them loaded with coal and the rest with hundreds of invited guests, in charge of Stephenson, as engineer. People in large numbers had gathered for the

occasion, and when the train started, many in doubt of its promised speed, tried to keep up with it on foot, gentry on horseback cut across fields to head it and a stage coach on the turnpike, loaded with passengers, waited for an even start. On the track, in front of the engine, a man was mounted on a fleet charger to keep ahead of it, carrying a flag and decorated with many derisive insignia. Such were some of the manifestations of the doubting Briton. The train started amidst cheers from the people. The locomotive soon showed its power under the guiding hand of Stephenson. He shouted to the man with the flag to clear the track, and opening the throttle valve, the train shot ahead at the rate of 15 miles an hour, leaving people, horses and stage coach far behind, and reaching Darlington in safety.

The feasibility of railroad transportation was thus fully demonstrated, yet such was the obstinacy of the Briton to innovations that when shortly after, a charter was applied for to build a railroad from Liverpool to Manchester all manner of objections were raised—that the smoke from the locomotive would poison the air; kill the birds and destroy gentlemen's pheasant preserves; burn up farms and homesteads; render hay and oats valueless, because horses to consume them would become extinct; highways for traveling would be superseded, country inns ruined, and passengers and employes killed by the bursting of boilers.

When Stephenson was called before the parliamentary committee this incident happened. A member in a triumphant tone put the query to him: "Suppose now, in front of one of these locomotives pulling a train at the speed of 12 to 15 miles an hour, a cow should stray upon the track, would not that be a very awkward situation?" "Ay, ay," replied Stephenson in his broad Northumberland dialect, "raither awkward for the coo."

I may add, however, that in this country experience has repeatedly shown that such "situation" is not only "awkward" for the cow but often disastrous to the train. With the railroad news from abroad and the opening of the Erie canal which by the way was yielding good returns from the start, equal to 10 per cent, net on its cost of $8,000,000, all of which the New York press, in connection with the civic demonstrations of the opening events, had not failed to present in the most vivid colors, tinctured with florid predictions of wonderful developments along these lines for the whole country in the near future and which was copied by other papers near and far with favorable comments and home applications, the hopes of the people were wrought to the highest pitch of expectation. Railroad charters were numerously granted in different states, rivers planned to be rendered navigable and the construction of hundreds of miles of canals undertaken by states. All through the sea board states the spirit of internal improvement became especially active. Still as to the building of railroads, such were the hindrances from lack of mechanical devices if not skill, crude machinery and modes of construction, and in many places the difficulties of grading, that by 1830 only about 36 miles of railroad had actually been completed in the whole country and that was between Albany and Schenectady.

Of course the fever of public improvement did not find a barrier in the Alleghanies but soon spread to the west infecting communities as it went. In Ohio as early as 1826 ground was broken for a canal to join the waters of Lake Erie and the Ohio river. Indiana not to be out done in the march of progress, launched a big improvement system which soon involved her deeply in debt. Kentucky more prudent and with a surface more uneven, confined herself largely to the improvement of her rivers to render them navigable, and the building of a fine system of turn pikes, many of which are doing excellent service today.

In Illinois the joining of the waters of Lake Michigan with those of the Illinois river had been from a very early day a fond dream with many. As the portage from the south branch of the Chicago river to the Des Plaines was only a few miles across, the cutting through this rim was long vaguely regarded as of easy accomplishment. Time and again was public attention directed to it. The massacre at Fort Dearborn accentuated the importance of reaching this point through waterways from the south, and in 1814

President Madison brought the subject to the attention of Congress, but nothing was done. In 1816 a large tract of land along the proposed route of the canal including the present site of Chicago was conceded by the Indians through the efforts of Governor Edwards, who had some peculiar views regarding Indian titles. In 1822 Congress granted a strip of land for its construction, extending 90 feet out each way. In 1823 a survey and estimate of the cost of the canal was made at $716,110. When it was finally opened 25 years later it had cost over ten times that sum.

In 1825 with the accesion of a national administration of more latitudenarian views than its predecessor as to the power of Congress to contribute toward public works, our efficient congressman, Daniel P. Cook, acting chairman of the committee on ways and means, moved in the matter of national aid toward the building of the canal. His scheme proposed a grant of land consisting of the alternate sections along the route five miles out each way, which included the present business heart of Chicago. His efforts were ably seconded by our senators in Congress, Kane and Thomas, and by memorial, from our Legislature. The grant was finally secured by act of March, 1827, Congress viewing such canal as a work of national utility.

The aid secured, nothing more was done toward constructing the proposed canal for nearly ten years, except to make occasional surveys and estimates of its probable cost and find that the proceeds from the grant were likely to fall far short of building it; and the making of large inroads through official pay rolls upon the proceeds derived from the sales of lands and lots out of the grant. This has ever been too much the art of government in Illinois.

In the meantime Congress was memorialized by the Legislature for the privilege of applying the proceeds of the land grant toward the building of a railroad in place of the canal under the supposition that a railroad would cost much less. The option was readily secured but never availed of. These doings, or perhaps non-doings, with occasional grants of railroad charters, under which nothing was ever done, and the Black Hawk war of 1831-2, which greatly absorbed public attention, held the fever of internal improvements measurably in abeyance in Illinois.

In the election of 1834 the choice for governor fell upon Joseph Duncan, who had been four times sent to Congress as a Jackson man. Recently, however, he had broken with the "Military Chieftain" and become the candidate of the opposition for governor. The "Hero of New Orleans" had crushed the U. S. bank and vetoed appropriations for improving the channel of the Wabash river and deepening the harbor at Chicago, measures which Duncan had diligently espoused.

The Legislature returned at the same election was pro-Jackson, but notwithstanding this, the new governor's recommendation of a State bank was readily sanctioned with a capital of $1,500,000 and the privilege of increasing the same $1,000,000 more, the State reserving the right to subscribe $100,000 of the capital stock. Six branches were authorized. Banks in great numbers had been started about this time all over the country; their issues were received in payment for public lands and, as the government was also distributing the surplus of its revenues, amounting to many millions, among the states, money was plentiful and times were good, and western immigration was greatly stimulated.

The State census of 1835 revealed an astounding increase in population during the last five years, it being 157,445 in 1830 and 269,974 in 1835, or nearly double. The increase was mainly in the central and northern parts of the State. This was also largely due to the Black Hawk war, which had advertised these fertile regions all over the country, and as the Indians were now finally expelled therefrom the settlers felt secure and the influx of immigrants was redoubled.

With this increase and spread of population a redistricting of the State was demanded. Accordingly the governor convened the Legislature in extraordinary session December 7th, 1835. He was also solicitous to have the Bank Act amended by the State subscribing $1,000,000 to the capital stock, instead of the $100,000 already reserved, and preposterously argued that the State

would make 30 per cent. premiums, or $300,000, on it by the sale of its securities. He also wanted money to begin work on the canal, and finally elaborately advocated a system of internal improvements, concluding with the following inspiring words:

"When we look abroad and see the extensive lines of intercommunication penetrating almost every section of our sister states—when we see the canal boat and the locomotive bearing, with seeming triumph, the rich productions of the interior to the rivers, lakes and ocean, almost annihilating burthen and space, what patriotic bosom does not beat high with a laudable ambition to give to Illinois her full share of those advantages which are adorning her sister states, and which a munificent Providence seems to invite by the wonderful adaptation of our country to such improvements."

The message may be said to mark the opening of the campaign for public improvements in Illinois.

The legislature redistricted the State adding many members to that body; authorized a $500,000 canal loan based on the canal lands and its tolls, with which to begin the work; did not fall in with the Governor's roseate views of the State subscribing $1,000,000 to the bank stock and make the $300,000 premium which he predicted, but did direct the sale of bonds with which to pay for the $100,000 of stock reserved at the previous session. A number of railroad charters were granted, under none of which any organization was ever effected let alone work done. But to his excellency's ardent pleading for a general system of internal improvements to keep abreast with our sister states in the march of progress the legislature failed utterly to respond. The people however, were fired by his glowing words and now took the matter into their own hands. In August, 1836, a legislature was to be elected under the new apportionment act. In the campaign there was no occasion for the Governor to urge the course of internal improvements in lurid phrase in order to stir the people. The fever for public improvements, stimulated by him in his late message, had reached Illinois, spread all over the State and was at its height. More than 1,000 miles of railroad were already in successful operation throughout the country. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, the digging of canals, building railroads, and improving rivers were under full headway. The people had heard and read the vivid accounts of these wonderful performances and were fired with an ambition not to be longer left behind in the race of advancement. They not only craved relief in their remote situation but were animated by a sentiment of pride and emulation. What others could afford they might. As to the mode or manner of accomplishing the desired object they took little concern. The ways and means were entrusted to their representatives to be chosen. The feasibility, safety, and the details of the scheme, and the plans and methods of procedure, were for them to devise. That their (the people's) interests might be imperiled did not occur to them. And had they not a right to look to their representatives for the exercise of wisdom, caution and prudence in so great an undertaking?

The public enthusiasm for improvements manifested during the campaign can hardly be called a "craze" as is often done. Rather was it an undue impatience to realize what was quite possible at the time, although inoportune as it turned out in the then monetary condition of the country. The reprehensible folly of the business, both as to the manner and form in which it was fastened upon the State, should be charged to those who represented the people but failed in their duty and trust through perhaps, let us say, inordinate zeal to serve them and to want of experience or knowledge. The responsibility of the crude performances should not be charged upon the conduct of the people at large however anxious and determined they may have been to have something done.

The election returned the most notable body of legislators in many respects that ever assembled in the State. Some of them afterwards became the foremost men of the nation. One was elected president and guided the ship of state during its most trying period and has passed into history as among the greatest characters of this or any age. Another, while defeated for the same high office, afterwards did more in rallying the people to an active support of the Union than any other. Six became United States Senators, eight

Congressmen, three State Supreme judges, and still others high State and national officials, distinguished generals, etc. It was a remarkable aggregation of talented men, mostly young and inexperienced in public affairs, and in dealing with the subject of public improvement, the leading question of the session, they proved shortsighted in statesmanship, and for their amateur play at politics, keen and pyrotechnic as it was in many respects, the people had to pay dearly.

The Governor in his message, when the Legislature met in December, 1836, showed some inclination to "hedge" on the internal improvement question. Although he extolled the grand system to the skies as to what it would accomplish for the good of the people, he now advocated that the State take only a third or half interest in the works instead of the whole. But the Legislature took no heed of his excellent advice.

Simultaneously with the assembling of the legislature there met also a self-appointed convention at the capital fresh from the people as it was ostentatiously claimed, to further the cause of public improvements. This body wholly irresponsible, contained many alert and determined characters, active in party counsels. Some members of the legislature also took part in its deliberations. It proceeded with the work in hand and in a short time evolved and embodied in a bill to be laid before the legislature a complete system of improvements to be undertaken by the State including ways and means, modes of construction and many other details. A memorial setting forth in admirable diction the great benefits to the people to follow from such improvements was also drafted to accompany the bill. The convention on adjourning designated a lobby committee to see to it that members did not "flunk," to use the parlance of the time, in their support of the bill. Of this there was little need for the legislature was not only willing to support the convention bill but added largely to it.

The bill provided for the following works:

Improvement of the Wabash river..$	100,000	Great Western Mail Route..........	100,000
Improvement of the Illinois river..	100,000	Central railroad......................	3,500,000
Improvement of the Rock river....	100,000	Southern Cross railroad............	1,600,000
Improvement of the Kaskaskia river..............................	50,000	Northern Cross railroad............	1,850,000
Improvement of the Little Wabash river..............................	50,000	Total..............................	$7,450,000

The memorial concluded as follows: "The maximum is well understood by political economists that the wealth of a country does not consist so much in the abundance of its coffers as in the number and prosperity of its citizens. In the present situation of the State the products of the interior by reason of their remoteness from market are left upon the hands of the producer or sold barely at the price of the labor necessary to raise and prepare them for sale. But if the contemplated system should be carried into effect, these fertile districts which now languish for the want of ready markets for their productions would find a demand at home for them during the progress of the works and after their completion would have the advantage of cheap transit to a choice of markets on navigable streams. This would tend to build towns and cities on the routes and at the terminal points of the railroads."

The bill and memorial when introduced were referred to the committee on internal improvements and when the bill emerged therefrom it was with the following additions:

Railroad from Peoria to Warsaw...$	700,000	Railroad from Belleville to Lebanon..............................	150,000
Railroad from Alton to Hillsboro..	600,000	Increase on G.W. Mail Route.......	150,000
Railroad from Hillsboro to Terre Haute..............................	650,000	Distribution to counties in which no improvements were projected.	200,000
Railroad from Bloomington to Pekin..............................	350,000	Total..............................	$2,800,000

Which added to the other made a grand total of $10,250,000. The bill, when reported back with these additions, was accompanied by an elaborate report, covering twelve pages, which is one of the most assuring and hopeful papers to be found among the archives of the State. It was urged that owing to the level surface of the State, and from other data, the cost of railroad building would not exceed $8,000 per mile; that as soon as sections were completed both ways from important crossings the earnings would yield interest on cost; that disbursements for the public works for labor would enable the people to buy homes; that increased immigration would come, which meant increased entries of public lands and increased revenue; that the internal trade of a country was the great lever of its prosperity; that public expectation would be disappointed if some system of State improvement was not adopted; and that it was the legislator's duty, by his example, to calm the apprehensions of the timorous and meet the attacks of calculating opposers of measures which would multiply the population and wealth of the State.

It was an admirable argument, ably put, but soon shown to be wrong in its conclusions. Whether the legislature was misled by false data or not as to the cost of such works may not be said, but it soon developed that the grossest underestimates in costs had been made, (in many instances 100 per cent.) and that the liability of the State might be doubled.

From the standpoint of political economy, however, the gravest menace of the measure consisted in its being made a State undertaking. The State is a popular form of government, of which control is gained, as a rule, through party machinery, which is attended and often dominated by swarms of place hunters, henchmen and "grafters," so-called, all expecting big rewards for scant services. The State's constructing and operating so extensive a system of improvements meant thousands of employees, many easy jobs open to indefinite nursing, and the expenditure of millions of money, offering fat pickings all along the line. That such an enterprise, under such circumstances, with such opportunities, could be conducted by the State with economy and safety to the interests of the people and its own credit, in the estimation of the legislature, seems like the most Utopian of dreams.

The $200,000 item in the bill, for distribution among counties through which no improvements were projected, evidences that hard work in committee was done in order to satisfy clashing sections. Apparently but one course was open to the committee, namely, to concede to each section what it wanted, thus ever swelling the total until nearly $3,000,000 was added, and when finally they could go no further, for they could not well build a railroad past everyone's door, they submitted to this "hold up" for counties in consideration of further needed support for the bill.

While pending now in the legislature, other measures loomed up in more or less of antagonism. There was the Bank bill, to increase the State's subscription to its capital stock; the bill to increase the issue of canal bonds, based on the faith and credit of the State; and not the least ineffective political work was the bill to relocate the State capital. To harmonize and serve all these different interests and advance their own, taxed the "statesmanship" of the champions of the improvement bill to the utmost. The friends of these different measures stood to them respectively as a unit, but no single one could muster a majority. Favor or oppositisn was not based on merit or demerit of any them, but how to use them as levers to advance others. The bills were thus made to support each other under many promises and denials or threats and counter-threats from the friends of each. And thus, in divers ways, known only to the art of the politician, they traded and bartered and bartered and traded—log-rolled, as it was called,—until the "combine" was perfected and all the bills became laws.

Sangamon, then the most populous county in the State, had two senators and seven representatives in the legislature, familiarly known as the "long nine," they averaging six feet in stature. Their one purpose was to secure the removal of the capital to Springfield, and to this end they bent all their energies, voting solidly upon the measures at every stage of their progress, for or against. Governor Ford, in his history, sums up the conduct of the "long nine" as follows:

"Among them were some dexterous jugglers and managers in politics, whose sole object was to obtain the seat of government for Springfield. This delegation, from the beginning of the session, threw itself as a unit in support of, or opposition to, every local measure of interest, but never without a bargain for votes in return on the seat of government question; and by such means the 'long nine' rolled along like a snowball, gathering accessions at every turn, until they swelled up a considerable party for Springfield, which they managed to take almost as a unit in favor of the internal improvement system, in return for Springfield to be the seat of government; and thus, by log-rolling on the canal measure, by multiplying railroads, by terminating three railroads at Alton, that Alton might become a great city in opposition to St. Louis, by distributing money to some of the counties, to be wasted by the county commissioners, and by giving the seat of government to Springfield, was the whole State bought up and bribed to approve the most senseless and disastrous policy that ever crippled the energies of a growing country."

The improvement bill did not meet with the approbation of the council of revision, who held that "such works can only be made safely and economically in a free government by citizens or by independent corporations, aided by or authorized by government"; and that such vast public works, with their army of employés, would tend to exercise undue influence over legislation. But notwithstanding these valid objections, the bill was again passed by the constitutional majority, and became a law Feb. 27, 1837.

Upon the final passage of the measure, the House gave itself up to noisy demonstrations of hilarity—"horse play," as we call it. Books were hurled over the chamber, papers scattered, desks upset and chairs broken, while members shouted and shook hands, embraced or pushed and jogged each other, amid rejoicing and groans, the singing of ribald songs and the clapping of hands. A member of Irish birth, afterwards quite prominent, whose rich native brogue was never laid aside, and full of rollicking fun, withal an admirable "mixer," in modern phrase, was gotten upon a table and sang Irish ditties and market songs with great gusto, amid the cheers and encores of his hearers.

Little did that boisterous crowd appreciate, or perhaps care, what they had done toward loading the necks of the people with the thrall of debt.

To fully comprehend the meaning of the stupendous liability which the State had been placed under; a comparison between then and now may aid us. The population in 1837 may be fairly estimated at 300,000. To-day it is about 4,800,000, or sixteen times greater. The assessed wealth of the State in 1837 was about $50,000,000. To-day it is $999,108,815, nearly a billion, or twenty times greater. This is only the fifth part. If we take the full assessed valuation it would be a hundred times greater. The liability of the State under these acts of 1837 was $10,250,000 for the projected improvements, $2,000,000 for subscription to the bank stock, $1,000,000 for endorsing the canal loans, and say $150,000 for the new State House—total, $13,400,000—not counting other debts of the State at the time—at least $200,000 more. If we multiply this $13,400,000 by 20 the result is $268,000,000, which, in ratio to that of 1837, would be the present liability of the State. But great as this sum looks it is not all. There are often other things in economics than mere figures. If we consider that money in 1837 was much dearer or had a greater purchasing capacity than now; that it required double the labor to earn a dollar it does now, that the products of the field and farm brought scarce half they average now, that interest was about double or 10 to 12 per cent., where it now commands 5 to 6. We see a condition that would make a further difference equal to a 100 per cent in the burden of debt then and now. In other words, a debt of half a billion now, resting on a population of nearly 5,000,000 with taxable wealth of a billion would be a less burden than one of $13,400,000, resting on a population of 300,000 with taxable wealth of $50,000,000 was in 1837, under the conditions named.

What would you do to a Legislature which should to-day saddle upon the State a liability to that extent in a visionary venture? In 1837 the members

championing this chimerical measure, on returning home were welcomed with the plaudits of their constituents as public benefactors, while those who had opposed it were coldly looked upon as the enemies of progress.

Among the currious features of the improvement scheme was one in connection with the State entering government land along the proposed routes of railroads, which inhibited officers and employés from giving away the secrets of probable townsite locations, for fear that someone might get ahead of the State, purchase the land, and by laying off the town enrich himself out of what the State should have had.

Another provision, which, by the way, proved the most disastrous in results, and which was manifestly prompted by a jealous fear that some towns might reap benefits ahead of others, was the one requiring work on railroads to begin and be prosecuted both ways from important towns and crossings. This most unbusinesslike requirement did more toward accomplishing nothing lasting or permanent, and in causing the total loss of work done at many points in the State, than any other provision of the act, and has been generally denounced as its crowning folly. Little did the zealous statesman who framed this act think that to make the work done at so many different points available the tracks there would have to be equipped with engines and cars, involving great expense and little recompense. As it resulted, when the system was abandoned, what work had been done at the many points went to ruin, the State losing all.

Now, with the law enacted, the next thing in order was to start the grand system into operation. The first requisite was, of course, money. A board of fund commissioners, of "practical and experienced financiers," was provided for by the act, who were to negotiate all loans authorized, execute bonds and stocks, receive the proceeds of their sales, and pay them out on proper orders. Charles Oakley, M. M. Rawlings and Thomas Mather were elected fund commissioners. Another board provided for was that of public works, to consist of seven members, one from each judicial district, who were to locate, superintend and construct all the public works, except the canal. The board chosen consisted of Wm. Kinney, Murray McConnel, Elijah Willard, Milton K. Alexander, Joel Wright, John Dixon and Ebenezer Peck.

The geographical distribution observed in the make-up of the latter board again evinced the jealous care that no one section should get advantage in the location and prosecution of the works—regardless of any effect that might flow from the starting of many and finishing none. Besides, it may be questioned whether, in principle, it is good politics to relieve our Executive, with usually a dominant party back of him, of all responsibility in important undertakings by giving their entire control to independent boards.

In the spring of 1837, a disastrous financial panic spread over the whole land. Much doubt as to the solvency of many of the banks had gathered force and found public expression, and the government had issued what is known as the "specie circular," by which land officers were ordered not to further receive payment for lands except in coin. This led up to the closing of many banks, or causing them to suspend specie payments. Such suspension in this State would work a forfeiture of charters, unless legalized within 60 days. The Governor therefore convened the Legislature, and took occasion also to advise a modification of the unwieldy internal improvement system. The Legislature sanctioned the former, but ignored the latter.

In July, the fund commissioners went to New York to negotiate State securities, and strange as it may seem, notwithstanding the disturbed financial condition of the country, such was the credit of the State that they succeeded in disposing of 4,869 $1,000 bonds, mostly at a premium ranging from 2 to 5 per cent—none below par.

With plenty of funds thus provided work was begun at many different points in the State before the end of the year. Public expectation was wrought to the highest pitch. Money on account of work and local expenditures soon became abundant. Immigration also continued to flow into the State, bringing more money. Credit became easy, and with advancing prices a spirit of wild and reckless speculation seized the people. Lands were en-

tered, often with borrowed money, towns laid out, lots sold and houses built largely on promises. Merchants, confident that the era of good times and prosperity had come to stay, bought excessively of goods on time and sold them without stint, to the people on credit. Extravagance was engendered, false hopes stimulated and debts contracted needlessly.

Meantime, the fund commissioners kept selling State securities, reaching $5,668,000 in 1838, while the amount disbursed on bank stocks, payments for work, iron purchased and distribution to counties, etc., reached $4,648,399.

In 1838, a Governor and Legislature were to be elected. Party lines were generally observed on national questions. As to State affairs, the Whigs demanded a modification and curtailment of the internal improvement system, while the Democrats declared in favor of its vigorous prosecution. Carlin, Democrat, was elected over Edwards, Whig, as Governor, but both houses of the Legislature were returned Whig. The outgoing Governor, Duncan, in his message, restated his opposition to the system to the extent it was projected, charging that it was being prosecuted without skill or experience, with innumerable mistakes and great waste of money. On the other hand, the incoming Governor, Carlin, declared that the plan of the State carrying on the system, instead of great joint stock companies, was based on correct principles; that "the signal success which had attended our sister states in the construction of their extensive systems of improvements could leave no doubt of the wise policy and utility of such plan." The Legislature, notwithstanding its Whig majority and the declaration of the Whig State convention against the huge system, not only did not curtail or modify it, but added to it many minor works, such as improving the Big Muddy, the Embarras and other streams, the building of a turnpike from Cahokia to Kaskaskia, a railroad from Rushville to Erie, etc., the whole at an estimated cost of $800,000.

Thus did this Commonwealth seek to shower its benefits with no niggard hand into every corner of the State. Whatever nook one Legislature overlooked or passed by another would spy out and provide for. The State, however, also had an eye to business, and would tolerate no competition, as the following incident illustrates. At this session, Albion, then an aspiring town in Edwards county, was impatient for an outlet to navigable waters, and had a bill introduced to incorporate the Albion and Grayville railroad, about ten miles long. But the chairman of the committee on internal improvements made an adverse report upon the bill, saying that, "in the opinion of the committee, it was inexpedient to authorize corporations or individuals to construct railroads or canals calculated to come in competition with similar works by the State." The State should be the whole thing, as we now say—a kind of trust, as it were. Nothing, perhaps, could more fully illustrate the deep infatuation of the day with regard to the State improvement question than this incident.

The home market for the sale of State securities having tightened greatly, and the Governor also wanting, perhaps, to subserve some partisan ends, appointed ex-Governor Reynolds and Senator Young as special fiscal agents to negotiate canal securities—thus, in a measure, superceding the fund commissioners, who had done remarkably well for the State. Neither of the gentlemen appointed were "practical and experienced financiers," as the law required, nor possessed of the requisite knowledge and tact for so delicate a mission.

Their bungling became manifest at once. In New York their first sale consisted of 300 bonds of $1,000 each, to be paid for in installments, the last of which did not become due for nine months, the interest meanwhile going to the purchaser. Next they sold 100 $1,000 bonds to some banks wholly on credit, the bonds to be used in the experiment of free banking, then just authorized by New York. The banks failed before payment was made, and the State lost very heavily. The State agents meanwhile tried Philadelphia, where they sold 1,000 bonds of $1,000 each, payment to be made in installments in United States bank issues, and the bonds and interest thereon made payable in London, in British coin. The United States bank notes gradually depreciated, reaching 10 per cent below par before the bonds were fully paid,

working another very great loss—the three transactions running well up to $150,000. The agents next went to London, where they found money stringent. After some time spent, they placed with Wright & Co. 1,000 bonds, to be sold in British coin, at not less than 91 per cent of their face value. The brokers sold about half the bonds, when they failed, with the proceeds in their hands. The unsold bonds were returned by the receivers, but the money for the bonds sold was adjudged to be assets of the firm, and distributed pro rata among the creditors, of whom the State was one, and received a few shillings on the pound. In these several transactions, whereby $1,900,000 in State securities were disposed of, the Governor's fiscal agents managed to cause the State a loss of about $500,000.

It soon became patent that no more State securities could be sold except at heavy discount, and public opinion would not further tolerate the violation of the law in this respect on the part of the State fiscal agents. The money market generally was growing more stringent every day. The United States Bank, which had been refused an extension of its charter had finally closed its doors, the Government deposits had been removed from local banks all over the country and tied up in the sub-treasuries, many banks had failed or suspended specie payment, and the times were constantly hardening. Produce and all other property declined greatly in value, credits were maturing and no money with which to discharge them. Funds were lacking with which to carry forward the public works and the people began to indulge some sober reflections. They began to see the folly of attempting to prosecute the work simultaneously at many different points and finishing nothing; and to feel a conviction that the cost of the unwieldly system had been greatly underestimated. They observed too that partizan preferments were gradually creeping into the management and that some official employees were dallying with the soft berths, and under the sting of the great disappointment this engendered, they began to express themselves in no uncertain tones through the press and at numerous indignation meetings in many counties.

The Governor did not escape criticism and censure on account of the losses caused by his appointees in negotiating canal bonds. He, however, was a man of the people, ever willing to serve them, and while he had no control of the public works or was in any way responsible for their conduct, he now, under the growing public clamor, made a thorough examination of their status and found, to his astonishment, that, with nothing completed, the liability of the State already exceeded $14,000,000, burdening a people of less than half million souls; and he calculated further from incontestable data that the cost of the works must soon reach nearly $22,000,000 or double the original estimates, the annual interest on which sum would be over $1,300,000, or six times the ordinary revenue of the State, which the people found hard to raise as it was. The Governor's ideas of only a year before about the State's undertaking such improvements underwent a total revolution, and with him action ever waited closely upon conviction. Convinced that nothing but dismal failure of the "grand system" was in prospect, with a vast debt and widespread ruin, and being without power himself to stop or change the work, he convened the Legislature in extraordinary session, December 9th, 1839. This was the first session of the Legislature held at Springfield, the new Capital.

The Governor now placed before that body the embarrassing situation in its naked proportion, and with touching words invoked them to the rescue, counselling wisdom, harmony and dispatch in their action, in order to save the credit and honor of the State and the people from impending ruin.

It was plain that the only effective way to deal with the threatening situation was to immediately stay the wasting hand of the cause of the trouble, but the Legislature was largely composed of the same members who had originally passed the public improvement measure, who had, hardly a year ago, supplemented it with a number of projected works, and who had stamped it as the exclusive policy of the State by denying all competition from pri-

vate enterprise, and now to deliberately abandon it, and let what work had been done, costing millions of dollars, go to decay and ruin, was a grievous step to contemplate, and they hesitated.

A fierce struggle ensued, lasting several weeks. Finally a sufficient number were won over to the performance of an imperative demand and duty, and by appropriate acts they abolished the boards of fund commissioners and of public works. One fiscal agent was appointed to audit and settle the accounts of the former board, demand and receive back all State bonds not negotiated or paid for, pay duties and freight and take charge of all material purchased abroad, etc. No farther sales of State securities were, of course, to be made. Three commissioners of public works, instead of seven, were now authorized to settle for work done, and to cancel unperformed contracts. All employés not necessary to operate such parts of roads as were in process of completion, or to aid in adjusting the State's liability under contracts not performed, were discharged.

Work on the canal was not arrested; and $100,000 of its fund was diverted to finish and equip the Northern Cross railroad, from Meredosia to Springfield, which had been vigorously pushed from the start, and which was approaching completion. It was finished in 1842, but the income from it proved insufficient to keep it in repair. In the course of a year or so its one locomotive was ditched, and thereafter the road was leased and operated by mule power for several years. In 1847, it was authorized to be sold, and the improvement which had cost the State $1,000,000 brought only $100,000, which was paid in State securities which had previously been bought at 21 cents on the dollar.

Nothing further was ever done toward completing any of the rest of the works, which were scattered in detached parcels over the State, where excavations and embankments were in evidence for many years as monuments of a costly legislative folly.

Thus fell by the hands of its originator the grand system of public improvements of this State, leaving behind a colossal debt aggregating $14,237,348, impairing the credit of the State and retarding its progress for a number of years.

It may seem strange that the members of the Legislature prominently connected with the enactment of these disastrous measures which caused so much disappointment and distress among the people, were not pursued and crushed with their displeasure when seeking political preferment thereafter. But they were not. We have seen that many obtained exalted positions and high honors. One reason of this was, perhaps, that the people felt that they had urged their representatives on in this course to an inordinate degree and that they, therefore, had only obeyed their behests; and perhaps they had no very clear conception of the duty of their representatives that in devising ways and means they had no right to imperil the interests of the people. Another reason was, no doubt, that whatever questionable means were resorted to, to effect the passage of the measures, or however reprehensible the zeal and conduct of the members, it was all solely to advantage their constituents or the committees they represented and in no instance for personal gain or benefit. "Boodling" is a modern "graft," and Governor Ford, in scoring the "long nine," was hardly warranted in using the word "bribed" as he does.

KASKASKIA ROAD AND TRAILS.

By Frank Moore.

AS TO KASKASKIA ROADS AND TRAILS, OR RATHER, TRAILS AND ROADS.

There being a number of trails leading from Kaskaskia through the southern part of the State, some to the Ohio and Wabash rivers on the eastern boundary of the State, others leading from Kaskaskia to points north ending in St. Clair, Washington and other counties. There are several roads surveyed and on file in the County Clerk's office, at Chester, Randolph County,

that are of early surveys, namely: From Kaskaskia to Cahokia, from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, from Kaskaskia to Covington, from Kaskaskia to Murphysboro, from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, from Kaskaskia to Belleville and French Village, from Kaskaskia to Belleville on the west side of the Kaskaskia river, from Chester to Waterloo; these being the earliest trails and surveyed roads known from the records and best information at present obtainable. Taken up in their order, as they appear from history and their records, as follows: As to the Kaskaskia and Cahokia road and that part of the Kaskaskia and Belleville road west of the Kaskaskia river following the Kaskaskia and Cahokia road to the foot of the bluffs, the greater part of these roads from Kaskaskia to the bluffs are now in the Mississippi river and also a cedar post mentioned in the description of the Kaskaskia and Cahokia road is also washed out and gone by the cutting of the Mississippi river. The Mississippi river in the year 1882 cutting through into the Kaskaskia river washed away those roads and the greater part of the town of Kaskaskia.

The above mentioned roads leading from Kaskaskia to the several points in the southern part of the State were prominent landmarks in the times of Kaskaskia's better days. In those days Kaskaskia was the metropolis of the west.

In concluding this short prelude upon the trails and roads of the early days, in existence at the present time, as well as those which have gone out into the eternal past, we are very largely indebted to the good graces and exceeding gentlemanly public spiritedness of our very efficient present County Surveyor, Mr. James Thompson Douglas.

OLD TRAILS FROM KASKASKIA TO LUSK'S FERRY—OR SHAWNEETOWN ROAD.

This trail is shown on the plats and field notes of Randolph county and marked at the intersections of the township lines and running in an easterly direction across the state to Lusk's ferry. This ferry from the appearance and direction of this trial, must be at or near the town of Shawneetown. This evidently, from the location of it on the government plats, must be what is known in later days as the Kaskaskia and Shawneetown road, and was surveyed and platted and is on file in the County Clerks's office as the Kaskaskia and Shawneetown road.

In early days there was a mail route over this road from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, the mail being carried on horse back. This mail was carried part of the time by Col. J. L. D. Morrison in his boyhood days. This road was surveyed and plated through Randolph county by one Darius Greenup in the year 1819. We have no record or knowledge of the survey beyond the limits of Randolph county.

OLD TRAIL FROM FERGERSON'S FERRY TO TURKEY HILL SETTLEMENT.

This trail, leaving Fergerson's ferry, running in a northwesterly direction, from the appearance of the locations on the plats and field notes and the directions must have followed the trail from Kaskaskia to Lusk's ferry to a point near New Palestine, in Randolph county. From this point it bears more to the north, crossing the Kaskaskia river at or near New Athens, thence to Turkey Hill Settlement, being about ten miles south east of Belleville, in St. Clair county. This road is marked on the plats in Randolph county as a wagon road from Fergerson's ferry to Turkey Hill Settlement. This trail is not traveled and is scarcely known through Randolph and adjoining counties only as it appears on the plats. There are some places in Randolph county where it can be seen but only where it passes over lands not in cultivation.

In regard to the Fergerson and Lusk's ferries, they must be on the Ohio river at or near the present town of Shawneetown, or in other words the same Ferry.

OLD TRAIL FROM KASKASKIA TO VINCENNES.

This trail leaves Kaskaskia and runs in a northeasterly direction following the Kaskaskia and Belleville roads to or near the village of Florence, thence continuing in a northeasterly direction, passing near Coulterville in Randolph county, thence continuing northeasterly to Vincennes. The trail can be seen where it passes over uncultivated lands. This road was never anything but an old trail. No part of it was ever traveled as a road and is not known, as to its location, only by the older citizens.

KASKASKIA AND CAHOKIA ROAD.

This road was surveyed and platted in the year 1811, and is on file in the county clerk's office in Randolph county. After leaving Kaskaskia about three-fourths of a mile it crosses the grand line of the common field of Kaskaskia. At this point on the grand line was set a cedar post, known as the Cahokia gate post, and is given as a point in the government field notes of the surveys of the common field of Kaskaskia; thence in a northwesterly direction up and along under the bluffs, passing Prairie du Rocher; thence passing near Harrisonville, in Monroe county; thence to Cahokia. This road is still kept up, and is traveled at the present time.

This road, prior to the survey made in 1811, had, no doubt, been one of the trails or roads leading from Kaskaskia in an early day, as the above mentioned cedar gate post, known as the Cahokia gate post, was recognized and known for many years by the older citizens, before the survey above mentioned was made; therefore, it must have been a trail or road traveled by the Indians and French passing through and to the above mentioned French villages.

STATE ROAD FROM KASKASKIA TO VANDALIA.

This road was surveyed and platted by James Thompson, in the year 1824, and that part of it through Randolph county is on file in the county clerk's office at Chester, Randolph county. Beginning at Kaskaskia, following the Kaskaskia and Belleville road at Florence; thence in a northeasterly direction, crossing Little and Big Nine Mile creeks; thence to John Miller's; thence to Archibald Thompson, Sr.'s; thence to Judge James Thompson's; thence to William Mann's; thence crossing Little and Big Plum creeks; thence to John McBride, Jr.'s; thence to the Randolph county line; thence to Vandalia, Fayette county. This road leading from the first to the second capital in the State.

KASKASKIA, BELLEVILLE AND FRENCH VILLAGE ROAD.

This road is one among the early surveyed roads in the southern part of the State. A line of stage from Kaskaskia to Belleville was run over this road in early days and up to about the year 1843. This road is still traveled as about first located, and passing through the villages of Florence, Walsh, Preston and Baldwin, crossing the Kaskaskia river at New Athens, passing Freeburg to Belleville and extending to French Village, being a little northeast of East St. Louis, under the bluffs in the Mississippi bottom. There villages were built up along the road some time after the survey of the road. This road is still open, and traveled nearly as first located.

KASKASKIA AND COVINGTON ROAD.

This road is one of the next earliest surveyed roads shown by the records. This road follows the Kaskaskia and Belleville road to the village of Florence, thence in a northeasterly direction, passing through what is known as Lively's Prairie and Hill Prairie, passing near the town of Marissa in St. Clair county; thence to Covington, Washington County. This road has been

abandoned for years and only old traces can be found and seen where it passed through Randolph county and no such a road is regarded or known as the Kaskaskia and Covington road. This road was surveyed by Judge James Thompson in the year 1819.

This road was also resurveyed and platted by Judge James Thompson in the year 1831.

CHESTER AND WATERLOO ROAD.

This road was surveyed and platted in the year 1837 leaving Chester and running in a northwesterly direction, passing through the village of Florence, crossing the Kaskaskia river at Evansville, thence to Ruma, thence to Red Bud, thence to Burksville Station, thence to Waterloo, the county seat of Monroe county. This road is still open and traveled as first located.

KASKASKIA AND MURPHYSBORO ROAD.

This road, leading from Kaskaskia down and along under the bluff of the Mississippi river, passing through Chester and Rockwood, crossing Degognia creek under the Bluff, said creek being the line between Randolph and Jackson counties; thence to a point near Kinkaid creek. At this point it leaves the Bottom and goes over the Hills to Murphysboro.

This road was surveyed and platted in the year 1820 by one of the Greenups, Darius or W. C.

KASKASKIA AND BELLEVILLE ROAD WEST OF KASKASKIA RIVER.

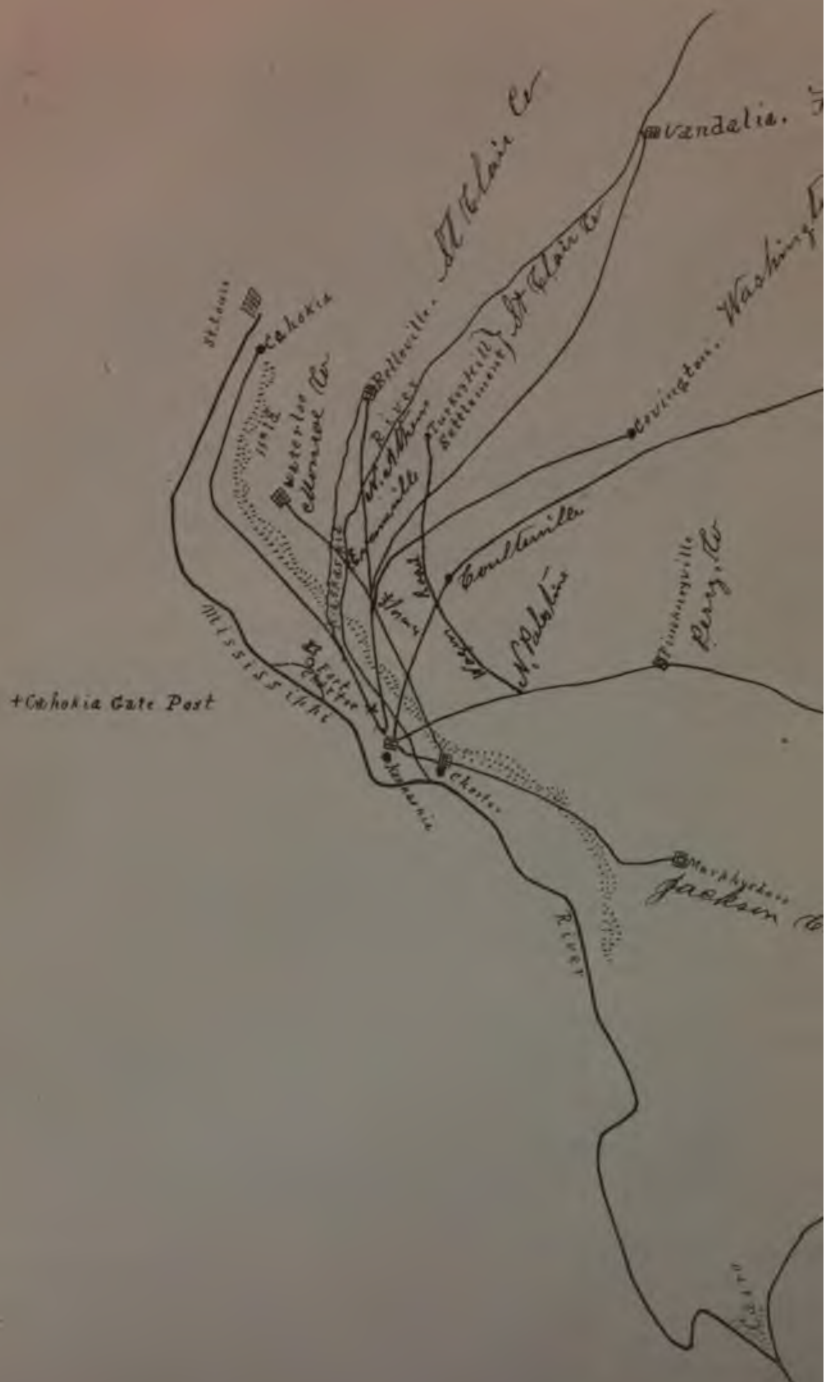
This road follows the Kaskaskia and Cahokia Road from Kaskaskia to the foot of the bluff then up and along and under the bluffs of the Kaskaskia river for a few miles, thence over the Hills to what was known in early days as Coles' Mills on Horse Creek, a few miles north west of the present town of Evansville; thence in a northerly direction through Horse Prairie to the north line of Randolph county, thence to Belleville in St. Clair county. This road is not traveled now and only a part of it can be found near Camp's Creek and in a few other places along the old trail.

There is a road open and traveled and known at the present day as the Kaskaskia and Belleville Road. This road leaves the Kaskaskia and Cahokia road about three-fourths of a mile further up towards Prairie du Rocher, and on the Kaskaskia and Cahokia road at what was known in early days as Atkins' Stone Spring house; thence up and over the Bluff in a northerly direction, passing what was known in early days as Dogwood Post Office, thence to Ruma, thence Red Bud, thence to Hecker, thence Georgetown, thence to Belleville.

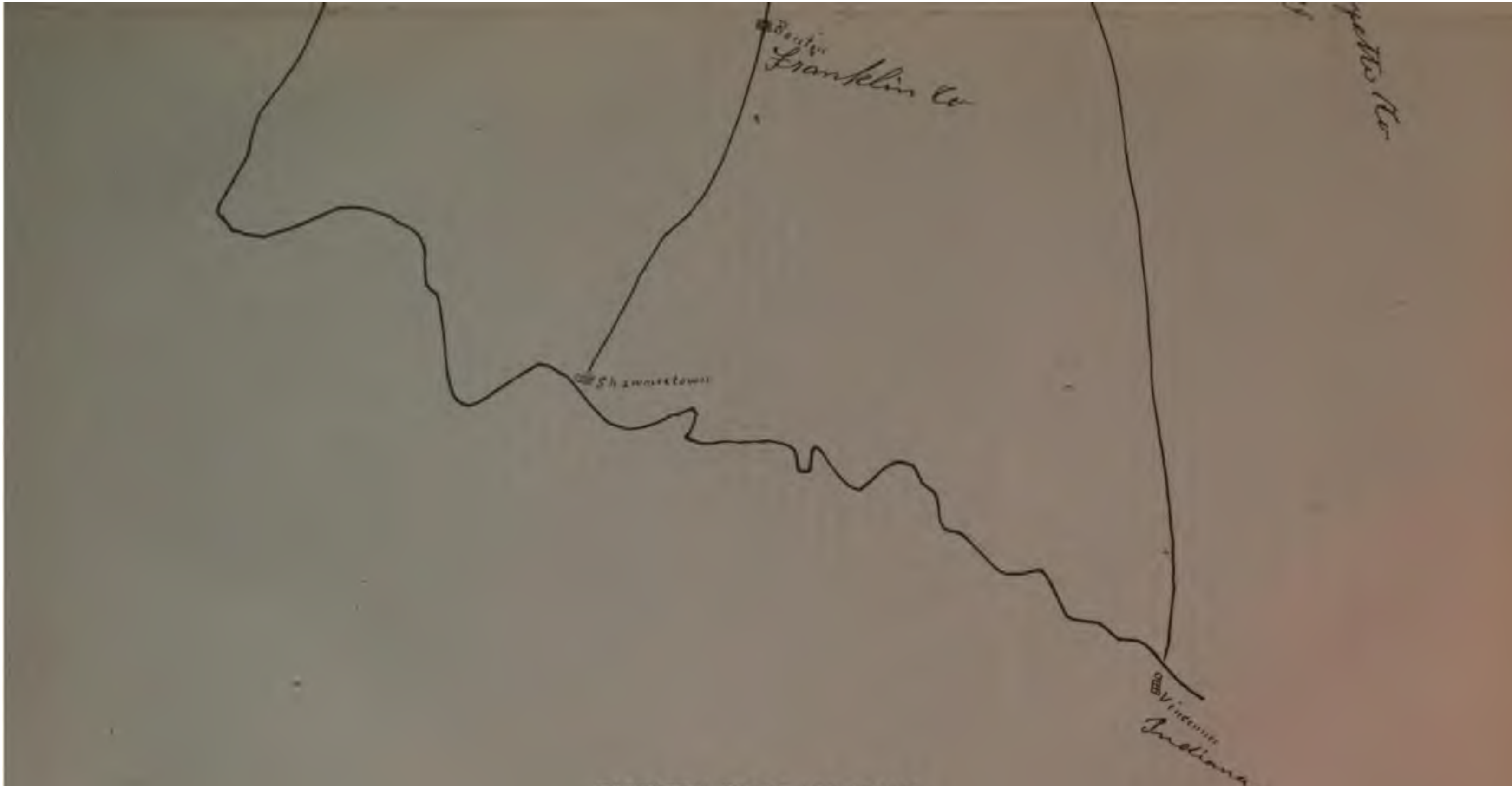
In the early 40's there was a mail carried on horseback over this road, leaving Kaskaskia and going over the last described road to Belleville, then from Belleville back to Kaskaskia over a road known as another Kaskaskia and Belleville road, leaving Belleville and passing Freeburg, thence crossing the Kaskaskia river at New Athens, thence to Baldwin, thence to Preston, thence to Florence, thence to Kaskaskia, making the round trip once a week. The first described road seems to have been an old trail from Kaskaskia to New Designs, and in the year 1820 was surveyed and platted as a state road and traveled in early days, but has been discontinued and can be found in only a few places and only a part of it is now traveled at all.

FRANK MOORE, ESQ.

Chester, Ill., Jan. 24, 1902.



Vandalia.
St Clair Co
St Clair Co
Washington
Cahokia
Belleville.
Covington
Coulterville
Perry Co
Murphysboro
Jackson Co
Chester
Mississippi
River
+Cahokia Gate Post



KASKASKIA ROADS AND TRAILS.

THE FRENCH IN ILLINOIS.

(By Hon. J. Nick Perrin).

A thousand years attest the truth of the assertion that France has welded a great link into the universal chain of events. A thousand years have passed since those oaths were exchanged at Strasbourg, from which a new language sprang into being; 500 years have passed since the Maid of Orleans delivered her country from foreign invaders; 300 years have passed since the issuing of the edict of Nantes, which guaranteed religious freedom, and although later revoked, still left an impress which finds an utterance in the constitutional provisions of every enlightened government; a little more than 100 years since the demolition of the Bastile and the presentation to the constituent assembly by LaFayette of the Declaration of the Rights of Man; a little more than 30 years since the establishment of the present French republic; thus covering ten centuries of progression, finding a culmination in a political structure which has for its basis the fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Ten hundred eventful years, in which the eagles of France have soared in every clime and beneath every sky; in which French diplomacy has played a conspicuous part in the politics of nations; in which French art, science and literature brightened the dark corners of the earth; in which France and her warriors won; France and her statesmen led; France and her literarti and savants shone; France and her discoverers helped to reveal a continent whereon the highest hopes and aspirations of men find their fullest fruition.

This leads to the statement that during this time, namely, in the beginning of the 16th century, when the spirit of discovery was rife, the French explorers were in the vanguard. Closely following the announcement by Columbus of his discovery of a new world, the French king commissioned John Verrazani, a Florentine navigator, to explore the coast of North America, and in 1523 this explorer sailed from the Carolinas to New Foundland and gave the name of New France to his indefinite discoveries. In 1535 Jacques Cartier, the mariner of St. Malo, sailed up the St. Lawrence, passed the site of Quebec and farther on ascended the eminence of Montreal. These early time visitors, Verrazani and Cartier, opened the way for the subsequent career of discovery, settlement and colonization by France on the western continent. Roberval, in the north, planted forts in Canada, and Ribaut, in the south, followed with what proved to be a temporary Huguenot settlement in Florida. The opening of the 17th century brought De Monts and Champlain. This century in American history is characterized by the movement toward permanent European settlements on this side of the Atlantic. The Spanish planted theirs in the southland, the English along the eastern coast, the French in the northeast. Gradually the stream of French settlement was extended from the lower basin of the St. Lawrence toward the "great chain of lakes" thence along their shores until it reached the farthest extremity of Lake Superior, where Father Allouez established a mission station on the Bay of Chegoimegon, in 1665. Before the first three-quarters of the century had elapsed the French power in America was quite considerable. The towns of Montreal, Quebec and St. Joseph's had become centers of primitive trade; forts and mission stations alternated with each other for a distance of 2,000 miles—from Labrador to the land of the Dakotas. At one of these mission stations (at the straits of Mackinac), Father James Marquette was stationed, in 1673, when Joliet was sent from Canada by the Intendent on a voyage of discovery to find the great river whose course and outlet should present a short passage to India. The popular notion of the day was that some such passage might be found. Marquette had sent reports to his superior at Quebec, containing references to a great river in the west, of which he had heard while he was at the mission on the Bay of Chegoimegon from the Indian tribes who visited the mission station, and who had crossed it in their travels. This indefinite information

furnished the basis for that voyage, which, while it failed to disclose a short passage to India, led to the discovery of the upper Mississippi river, and incidentally to the discovery of Illinois. Marquette, Joliet and five Frenchmen, on their voyage, went through Green Bay, up the Fox river, crossed the Portage to the Wisconsin river, down which they rowed to the Mississippi, thence down its current to the region of Arkansas, when, satisfied that the great river entered into the gulf instead of the Pacific ocean, they started on their return. At the mouth of the Illinois river they were told by the Indians of that locality that the Illinois river furnished a shorter route to the lakes, and hence they ascended it, and the discovery of Illinois, or the country of the Illinois Indians, took place. Near the present town of Utica, in La Salle county, a stop was made at the principal village of the Kaskaskias (a tribe of the Illinois confederacy), a mission station was established, and without farther tracing the voyageurs in their journeyings, it is sufficient for present purposes to say, that from this establishment dates the authentic period of Illinois history. Illinois was discovered by the French. The first station on its soil was founded by Frenchmen. To Marquette, Joliet and their five companions belongs the honor of having disclosed that scope of country which, after its discovery became the coveted goal of every European power that was attempting to establish a foothold on American soil; which became recognized as the key to dominion in America; which was foreseen by Patrick Henry as a necessary factor in achieving American independence; the conquest of which by George Rogers Clark and his companions broke the backbone of British power during the Revolutionary war as completely as the capture of Vicksburg broke the backbone of the Confederacy in the Civil war; the importance of which is now admitted in our great union of states, wherein it holds the key to every situation—financial, political, intellectual, material and spiritual. At the time of the discovery of Illinois, Marquette was 36. At the time of his death he was 38. He was born in northern France. After his death, other mission priests—all Frenchmen—came to this station among the Kaskaskias, until the station was moved, through the migration of the Kaskaskia tribe to southern Illinois, and was located at the junction of the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers, about the year 1700, where it remained as a continuing successor of the earliest white settlement in Illinois, until the encroachment of the Mississippi river in recent years formed an island, on which only a few vestiges of this pioneer village of Kaskaskia remain. Fathers Allouez, Rasle and Gravier officiated at the place on the northern Illinois before its removal. Father Gravier moved to southern Illinois with the Kaskaskia Indians. In the meantime, La Salle, born at Rouen, in Normandy, came to the Illinois country in 1680. He descended the Illinois river on his way down to the mouth of the Mississippi. He built Fort Crevecœur, near the site of Peoria. This was the second step in the opening of what is now our State. The foundation stones, then, that were laid in Illinois in the 17th century were a chapel and a fort. About the year that Kaskaskia was moved to the south the French settlement of Cahokia began. Father Pinet seems to have been the first to minister among the Cahokias, another tribe of the Illinois confederacy.

After LaSalle had gone to the mouth of the Mississippi and had taken possession of all the country bordering on the great river and all its tributaries and named the country Louisiana, the Illinois country became a part of this Louisiana country, for Louisiana extended from the gulf to Canada. Under this regime in the early part of the eighteenth century a large number of settlements—all French—sprang up in southern Illinois, mainly along the western portion. Kaskaskia and Cahokia were in existence in 1700. After New Orleans was founded and other French settlements were made in what are the present states of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama by Iberville and Bienville and Sauvolle and their companions, the French Marine Department which had assumed control and by whom appointments were made, appointed officers to administer the affairs of the Illinois country. By this time considerable development had taken place. The grant made to Crozat in 1712 to carry on commerce and mining, afterward continued under the company organized by law, although resulting in failure, yet so far as Illinois was concerned was productive of a stimulus that began the upbuilding of

the southern portion of our State. A fortification was built at Fort Chartres in 1718 in the present county of Randolph, where a military commandant was stationed and which became the seat of military and civil power of France in the Mississippi Valley. This was rebuilt later and became an immense stone fort with barracks and powder magazines and the estimated cost to the French government is placed at a million dollars. The engineer in charge of this gigantic enterprise was Captain Jean Baptiste Saucier, the great grandfather of Dr. J. F. Snyder, the vice president of this Historical Society. In the immediate vicinity of this fort there grew up the villages of St. Phillipes in 1719 and Prairie Du Rocher in 1720. Fort Sackville on the site of Vincennes was built in 1722 and although now in Indiana was reckoned then as a part of the country of the Illinois. Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia were the dominating centers and at these places, besides a military commandant, a notary functioned as a civil officer as I discovered from an old record which I unearthed a few years ago in St. Clair county, bound in hog hide and containing his entries, which I described in a paper read before this society last year.

In 1760 Prairie du Pont started and across the Mississippi (though virtually a part of the same growth), in 1764 St. Louis and St. Genevieve commenced. During this time trade was carried on between these settlements and New Orleans in the south, while in the north it extended to Prairie du Chien and Detroit. Just how many French inhabitants there were in Illinois at any time is somewhat problematical. The year that New Orleans was founded the entire population of Louisiana was estimated at not over 1,500. Gayarre speaks of a document or estimate sent to the French government in 1744, from which it appears that Illinois is credited with 300 male whites and 600 blacks of both sexes. If it is fair to presume that there were as many white females as males we could reckon 600 whites and an equal number of blacks making a total of 1,200 not counting the Indians. None of the settlements were ever very populous. Not even in later years. And although some writers place an estimate on Kaskaskia running into the thousands along about the time of the admission of the State and although some of the oldest inhabitants still living might be willing to make affidavit to that effect, my own guess would be that the population never ran over several hundred unless the census happened to be taken at the first Governor's inaugural when everybody came from far and wide and brought their wives' relations. But no matter; for a period of about 90 years the French in Illinois builded wiser than they knew and their efforts need no inordinate magnifying process to make their deeds shine out with luster and certainly cannot be belittled by any attempts to correct the mistakes of overzealous historians. From 1673 to 1765—from the day when Marquette planted his cross at Kaskaskia to the day when St. Ange de Belle Rive lowered the French standard on the ramparts of Fort Chartres and delivered the keys to Captain Stirling and his company of Scotch Highlanders—the French in Illinois laid the foundation of our present commonwealth on the broad principles of honesty, sobriety, industry, sociability and brotherly love. Then the country passed to the English. All the sweet contentment of the early settlers vanished. Many moved across the river to St. Louis and St. Genevieve; many even went to Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Those who staid plodded on under the galling yoke for 13 unlucky years until George Rogers Clark, in 1778, came with his men from Virginia and Kentucky and brought relief. To the credit of this remaining French population in Illinois be it said that they hailed with joy the cause of American liberty and independence, and as the representative of his class, pious and patriotic Father Gibault, who aided Clark so materially in securing the conquest of the northwest, shines out as an example of devotion to the cause of the infant Republic. Through the War of Independence, Illinois became a part of Virginia. Then it was ceded to the National Government as a part of the Northwest Territory. Later it became a territory, then a state. New immigrants flocked to its domain, settlers came from the east and the south and from across the sea. The French remnant became intermingled with the great tide that swept onward until now their integral part is hardly discernible in the great mass of moving humanity in a great commonwealth where

five millions of people are pushing and striving to make Illinois the greatest State in the universe by the end of the next decade. When we shall have attained that proud distinction amid our exultations let us cast a retrospective thought across the by-gone years until our minds revert unto the early settlers and in honor to their deeds let us chant an anthem to "The French in Illinois."

SAUKENUK.

[By Mrs. Julia Mills Dunn.]

To the student there is no state in the Union that can offer so interesting and so romantic a history as the State of Illinois.

The story of those old days when France controlled the whole northwest and her Jesuit missionaries explored the Mississippi from its source to the Gulf in their frail canoes, reads like a romance.

The true courage and unselfish heroism of these Jesuits is without a paralel in the history of the world. American soldiers have not lacked courage. Read the records of Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, Trenton, Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and see what they dared, what they endured, what gallant men may do. But it is easy to fight in defence of home, it was no hardship to cross the Delaware amid blocks of floating ice, inspired by the leadership of a Washington, to charge the heights of Lookout Mountain with the flag above them and the cheers of admiring comrades to sustain them in the struggle for glory.

But to penetrate at night the swamps, bayous and trackless forests, with all the chances in favor of ignominious and cruel death, with no hope of fame, or wealth, or what the world calls success, with only the silent stars to watch and the thought of God for companionship—this is true courage. History has seldom done justice to their memory.

And I have sometimes thought that the greatest wrong a conquering nation can commit, is to write its own history. Wars of conquest call for justification, and it is easy to defend our own wrong doing by representing our enemies as worse than ourselves.

Reading the history of our dealings with the native races of this continent, the student is forced to conclude that not all the broken compacts, treachery and bad faith were on the part of the red men.

Among the strong characters that have become historic in the annals of the early settlement of Illinois, that of Blackhawk, the famous chief of the Sauk, or Sac Indians, stands pre-eminent. All historians, as well as his contemporaries, agree that he was a man of great mind, wonderful energy and unsurpassed courage. Men who knew him say that he was truthful—for a politician—temperate, patriotic toward his tribe, and faithful to his wife to whom he was devoted for more than 40 years, a man of great personal dignity and fine appearance.

Within a few weeks I have heard testimony from two descendants of pioneers who were intimately acquainted with Blackhawk, one a granddaughter of John Dixon of Dixon, the other a daughter of Judge Spencer of Rock Island, and both agree as to the ordinary estimate of the character of Blackhawk.

One of these ladies added that he was, undoubtedly, a "fine man for an Indian."

From this remark only two deductions can be logically drawn. One, that according to the lofty standard of Indian morals, the virtues of temperance, truthfulness, honesty, courage, patriotism, were mere trifles; the oth however fine a character a man possesses, it is not fine unless he is desc from a given race, and these virtues are the results of generations of m training.

The united possessions of the Sauk, or Sac and Fox, Indians included the whole of the state of Iowa, and on this side of the Mississippi river the lands lying along the Illinois river, from its mouth as far as Peoria, then north to the Wisconsin river, about 70 or 80 miles from its mouth, down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, and thence to the Illinois.

They had several villages in Rock Island county, but the largest was known as Saukenuk, on the Sinnissippi or Rock river, about three miles and a half from where it empties into the Mississippi, near where the village of Milan now stands.

The date of the settlement at Saukenuk has never been definitely ascertained. Blackhawk himself said that his people had occupied these lands more than 100 years when they were dispossessed by the whites, in 1831.

The location of Saukenuk was an ideal one. The Sinnissippi, rich in story and tradition, here flows through a valley whose fertility is unequalled. As one looks over the farms that now stretch away in the distance, a more beautiful pastoral scene can not be found in the State.

The prairie uplands, clothed with fields of waving grain in blended shades of green, give a diversified color to the landscape. Clumps of stately elms are dotted along the banks of the willow fringed river that glitters here and there through the trees in mirror like brightness. Close to the site of ancient Saukenuk the shore rises into a bold promontory, more than 200 feet high, called Blackhawk's Watch Tower.

Those who give the Indians credit for being savages but little above the beasts of prey, say that from this lofty eminence that overlooked the village, Blackhawk used to sit and watch for his foes.

But those who knew him best, say that he was a lover of natural scenery, and that it is more probable that he came here for peaceful purposes. He himself, in his autobiography, says: "The tower was a favorite resort, and I often went there alone, where I could sit and smoke my pipe and look with wonder and pleasure at the grand scenes before me."

Saukenuk has been called a village, but perhaps a better idea could be conveyed by the word city, for it once numbered, by actual count, 11,000 active, industrious, energetic, intelligent people. Like the towns built by the white men, it was regularly laid out into lots, blocks, streets and alleys. It had two public squares, and like the old villages and cities we see everywhere in Europe today, it was walled for protection, not like them, with stone, but fortified with brush palisades, with gates for entrances.

Saukenuk, according to local historians, was not a mere aggregation of huts and wigwams, but a town of permanent dwellings. The houses were large, bark covered, long buildings, from 30 to 100 feet in length, and from 16 to 40 feet in width. They were built for and occupied by several families, or rather several generations of one family, grandparents with their sons and daughters and grandchildren with all the husbands and wives.

These houses were built to face the street or public square, at a uniform distance from the street, and equal distances apart. They were of poles wrought into frames, and covered with long strips of bark, generally taken from elm trees. They had arbor-shaped roofs,and numbered about 700. From this it will be seen that the Sauks and Foxes belonged to the class known as "village Indians." They called their buildings hodensate, meaning that they were permanent, while the word wigwam, or tepee, is equally descriptive of a hunting, or nomadic people, and is understood to mean temporary abode. For their winter residences they used wigwams because they were small and could be warmed by building a fire in the centre, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Where the two public squares intersected stood their council house which was of immense size without any partition.

It was used by the chiefs and men in authority for the secret consideration and discussion of all matters pertaining to the tribe. When not in use for

this it was used by the young people for a gymnasium and dancing hall. But it was on the public square that all the people met on all great occasions, where their mass meetings were held.

Judge Spencer of Rock Island published before his death a little book entitled "Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in the Mississippi Valley." He had settled near Saukenuk and lived about a quarter of a mile from Blackhawk.

His book gives some interesting accounts of life at Saukenuk. He tells us tha the Indians were governed by two sets of men, peace chiefs and war chiefs, corresponding to our civil and military departments. The duties of the peace chiefs were to settle all disputes and differences between their own and other tribes, and between the whites and themselves. The war chiefs never interfered in the affairs of the village, and it is to be presumed never criticised the verdict of an investigating committee.

In times of trouble the two consulted, and there was always harmony. Neither the political nor military rulers belonged to the laboring class, it was the duty of the one to make the laws, and of the other to kill people, and each attended strictly to his own business.

Manual toil could add nothing to the glory of either, and the task of cultivating the squashes, corn, beans and melons was left to the old men, boys and women.

Like the fashionable folk of today, the people of Saukenuk considered it a necessity to go away from home for a part of the year, and about the middle of September a general exodus took place for their western hunting grounds, from which they did not return until the middle of April.

They all left on the same day, almost the same hour. In order to do this, a man with a strong voice was appointed to go through the village a few days before, proclaiming the day and hour of departure.

In starting, they went down the Mississippi, taking all their canoes, about 200, and from 500 to 700 horses. It was always arranged that the two tribes should take separate hunting territory, so as not to interfere with each other. The Sauks took middle and southern Iowa, while the Foxes went to the north part. After the fall hunt, they went into winter quarters at some appointed rendezvous, which they frequently fortified as a protection against the Sioux, and here they staid until after the spring sugar making, when they returned to Saukenuk.

The appointed leader of the return trip would permit no straggling. They were told in the morning where they would camp at night. They kept their horses and canoes as close together as possible, and would arrive in camp at nearly the same hour, after a day's march.

With all the impedimenta, progress was necessarily slow, and they often did not march more than ten miles a day. They brought home with them dried meat and maple sugar, having disposed of the hides and furs they had taken by selling them to some Indian trader before starting home.

Before leaving Saukenuk in the fall, they buried their vegetables, squashes, beans and dried corn, and their first task, on returning, was to inspect the places where their stores had been hidden, to get the vegetable food, of which they had been deprived for so many months.

The dried corn had been prepared by boiling it while green, cutting it from the cob, and then drying it in the sun. It made a palatable dish, of which they were very fond. To hide these stores where they could not be found, they selected a dry spot where there was bluegrass sod. They then cut away a circular piece of sod the size of a man's body. This was carefully laid aside, and a hole dug, enlarging it as they went down to a depth of 5 or 6 feet. It was made large enough to hold the beans, squashes, dried corn, and sometimes crab apples, sufficient for one family. The hole was lined on the inside with strips of bark, and in sacks made from woven flags and grasses, or skins they had tanned, they put the vegetable provisions for

their next summer's use. The sacks were then covered with layers of bark, the surplus dirt removed, so as to destroy all traces of digging, and the sod carefully replaced.

Well they knew that as soon as they were gone the Winnebagoes or some other tribe would be there searching for these hidden delicacies. They would sometimes dig these holes in the center of the wigwam, where they made their fire, and after the hole was filled they would build a fresh fire over the spot, to hide all traces. But the Winnebagoes and other thieving tribes would thrust their sharp muskrat spears into the ground, and sometimes discover them, however cunningly concealed.

When a family had been robbed in this way during their absence, some of the young men of Saukenuk would go around the village and collect a small portion from each family to make up the loss.

This thieving never seemed to make trouble between the tribes. It seems to have been regarded as a sort of game, where the prizes were captured, not awarded. The annual buffalo hunt took place in summer, the hunters leaving home in July. This took them into the far western country where it was probable they would meet the fierce and warlike Sioux who were their bitter enemies.

Elaborate preparations were necessary for an event of so much importance, and each man carried a gun, a bow and a large bundle of arrows. They often waged fierce battles with the cruel Sioux, and besides the dried meat and tallow they brought home, they also brought the scalps they had taken from their enemies.

If any of their number had fallen in battle, there was no rejoicing out of deference to the feelings of the bereaved relatives, but they blacked their faces, instead of wearing black clothes, and mourned in silence for a specified time.

If they had been victorious and suffered no loss of life, there was a season of great rejoicing and dancing that lasted for days. There was no intoxicating liquor used in Saukenuk. Blackhawk would not allow it and forbade the Indian agents to sell it to his people. When this request was disregarded, and some of his young men had been induced to drink, he anticipated the methods pursued by a modern temperance enthusiast, went to the agency, rolled the whisky barrels out of doors and broke in the barrel heads with a tomahawk.

The people of Saukenuk were quite ceremonious and did not like to have their code of etiquette infringed upon. The grandmother of an acquaintance of mine was once surprised by a visit from Blackhawk and three other chiefs who had several hundred warriors with them.

As her husband was a friend of Blackhawk's she felt no fear, but thought it wise to offer them some refreshment.

Blackhawk with great dignity declined the invitation for his band, but intimated that he and the other chiefs would like to eat at a table as the white braves did.

She cooked them a fine dinner and sat with them at the table. Blackhawk, in thanking her for hospitality, took occasion to compliment her on her fine courtesy in sitting at the table with her guests instead of waiting on them. When a white man was a guest of the Indians no offence was taken if he declined to partake of any dish he did not like, but once helped it was a breach of etiquette to leave anything. He could, however, hire some Indian to eat it for him. This was considered good form, and furnished an easy way out of many a difficulty.

The people of Saukenuk were honest. After trading posts were established, they were often induced to buy much more than they could afford, but the agents said that, though the debts were many, they never lost a dollar from Blackhawk nor any of his tribe.

Like some of our highly educated and cultured United States Senators from beyond the Rocky mountains, some of the people of Saukenuk believed in and practiced polygamy, but Blackhawk never had but one wife.

They had many poetic legends that they used to tell around their wigwam fires when the severity of the weather precluded outdoor sports.

One of these was that a young Sioux, lost on the prairie in a snow storm, found himself at Saukenuk, and asked hospitality. Although he was their enemy, he was safe as a guest, and was warmed and fed in the wigwam of a chief who had a daughter called Dark Eyes.

The young couple fell deeply in love, and it was arranged that when he returned the following summer she would go as his bride to the far western country and live in his lodge among his kindred. When the corn was just ready to show its tassels the next June, the young Indian maiden, at work with her mother in the cornfield, heard the whistle of an oriole that had been agreed upon as a signal, and returning to her home, took her blanket and joined her waiting lover.

But, alas! Her two brothers had also heard the signal, witnessed the meeting of the two, and pursued the fleetfooted Dark Eyes and her Sioux lover. The fleeing couple, hard pressed, took refuge in a cave under Blackhawk's tower. A furious rainstorm was coming up, a bolt of lightning rent the cliff, and the faithful lovers were buried beneath the ruins.

Since then, on summer nights, the whistle of an oriole can sometimes be heard, and Dark Eyes and her lover come forth and wander about the familiar places.

Another legend is that a wandering French violinist once came to Saukenuk, and was entertaining the people who had gathered at the top of Blackhawk's tower with the music of his violin—a recital, we call it in modern phrase. His back was turned toward the brow of the cliff, and becoming enthusiastic with his own music, he stepped backward over the edge, and was dashed to death below.

With the annual recurrence of the time of the tragedy, the Indians said that the soft strains of a violin could be heard floating on the summer air.

Two or three miles from Saukenuk, just above the point where the Sinnissippi joins the Father of Waters, is an island in the Mississippi, nearly three miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide, comprising about 1,000 acres. This was a favorite pleasure resort for the young people of Saukenuk, where they went to gather strawberries, blackberries and nuts that grew plentifully here in the season. It was a favorite fishing resort also, and here they loved to gather and indulge in their simple amusements, dashing through the rapids in their light canoes, and enjoying other pastimes.

One spot on this island was sacred ground, and they never approached it save with hushed tread and subdued voices. This was at the lower end of the island, where the rock which forms the bed of the island, and from which it receives its name, rises in an almost perpendicular wall many feet in height.

Directly under it is a cave, where they believed a good spirit lived, the guardian of their tribe.

Like the seers of modern times, many of them had seen spirits, and this one was in the form of a swan, only ten times larger, and pure white, as orthodox spirits are supposed to be.

On this spot Fort Armstrong was built, in 1816, and abandoned in 1836. In 1831, the soldiers of General Gaines burned to the ground the homes of Blackhawk and his people, under circumstances with which we are all familiar, and which limited time will not permit me to rehearse.

Saukenuk is no more. Over her fields, where once a thousand acres of corn waved its tassels in the summer wind, the trolley cars of the Tri-City railway now speed along on tracks of shining steel.

Blackhawk Inn, a summer hotel, crowns the summit of the hill that overlooked the ancient village of Saukenuk, on the very spot where the chief of a

great nation used to sit and feast his eyes on the beauty of the scene. For 20 miles he could see the fertile fields of his fathers and trace for miles the course of the Sinnissippi as it wound in and out, a silvery thread of light.

On the island where his young people used to wander, the whirr of wheels and the clang of machinery are heard, and in the long rows of stone buildings are made and stored the equipments of war in one of the largest arsenals in the world.

Over the cave where the good spirit lived the Daughters of the American Revolution of Rock Island placed, only a few weeks ago, a monument to mark the site of old Fort Armstrong.

It stands where two great transcontinental lines of traffic and travel cross each other—the majestic Mississippi on its way to the southern gulf and the great line of railway that, connecting with the lines of the Atlantic seaboard, cleaves its way through the Rocky mountains to seek the waters of the Pacific.

The spot is made memorable, also, from its historic association with many names famous in the history of our country—Zebulon Montgomery Pike, whose monument rises above the clouds in the lonely peak that bears his name, Robert E. Lee, Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln, backwoodsman, pioneer, country lawyer, politician, statesman, President, martyr, greatest of all the great men that Illinois has given to her country. The view from this point is one of surpassing beauty. I spent part of last year in Europe. We saw the scenery of the Rhine, the blue lakes and snowy peaks of Switzerland, the lagoons of Venice, the green lanes and beautiful lake district of England, and admired the grandeur of the Highland Trossachs; but when, after my return, I saw it again, with the memory of what I had seen in the old world fresh in my mind, it was beautiful still. Not even the destroying hand of improvement had eradicated the charm that once made it so dear to Blackhawk and the people of ancient Saukenuk.

ILLINOIS ANCESTRY AMONG THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

[By Mrs. Katharine C. Sparks.]

When the war for American independence was fought, the population of the rebelling colonies was confined almost entirely to the east of the Allegheny mountains. The stirring events of that contest took place for the most part in the territory embraced by the 13 original states. We have been so long accustomed to associate the heroic deeds of our Revolutionary fathers with that region, to erect *there* our shrines for the homage due to American patriotism, that one comes with some surprise upon the thought of connecting the western country of Illinois with the Revolutionary war. It is true that the expeditions of George Rogers Clark and others were made *west* of the Alleghenies; it is true that these adventures are becoming better known and their importance more appreciated; and it is also true that the present Illinois is associated with the Revolution in an entirely different way—through membership in a body organized to perpetuate the memory of the men who participated in that immortal conquest.

Edmund Burke well says, that "People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors." This statement was made by an Englishman who had in mind the pride of an aristocracy; of old families; of primogeniture by which vast estates were kept intact from generation to generation. In America we apply the statement to a lineage of deeds and not of blood; of courage and not of class; of ancestors perhaps of humble birth who yet made for themselves niches high in the wall of fame.

The feeling which prompted the organization of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution was far from a pride of ancestry of

birth. On the contrary, it was a pride of an ancestry of worth. This pride, of course, was simply attendant upon the great motive back of the organization—the preservation of the memory of the soldiers of the Revolutionary war. This end the descendants of these men endeavor to accomplish by inaugurating local chapters wherever a sufficient number can be found, the whole constituting the national organization. The members are united in the same lofty purpose; to recall the deeds of their Revolutionary ancestors, and to instruct the youth of this generation in true patriotism. They seek to instill a patriotism that stands for something higher and nobler than deafening noise, firecrackers, skyrockets and red fire, which cause life to become a burden and make one almost wish himself beyond recall, even if in danger of being confronted by more red fire. It seeks to protect the flag from desecration, to preserve the last resting places of Revolutionary soldiers, and to mark properly and care for historic buildings and sites. Many of these places of precious memory would become forever lost or destroyed but for the effortsof the patriotic women who devote their strength and funds to preserving these priceless inheritances for posterity. The organization has also done much in the past ten years to arouse interest in a more intensive and widespread study of the history of our country. This has been done by arranging courses of lectures on the subject; by offering prizes in the grammar and high schools for essays on topics pertaining to our national history; and by organizing the children into a junior society, with the same end in view.

Although founded less than 12 years ago, the organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution has extended until it is represented by chapters in every state and territory in the Union. It is one of the largest organizations of women in the world, numbering over 38,000 members. Illinois is represented by 27 chapters, ranking among the highest of the states in respect to the number of its members. The Chicago chapter, to which I have the honor to belong, is composed of nearly 800 members, having the largest membership of any chapter in the organization. It also lays claim to being the first regularly organized chapter, and therefore the State of Illinois, in addition to its many other claims of preëminence, contains both the largest and oldest chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

This preëminence of Illinois Revolutionary ancestry is due almost entirely to the western movement of the people across the continent. When the Revolutionary war was fought, Illinois was scarcely known on the map. It was never really a part of the old 13 states although nominally held by Virginia for a few years. If it had not been for the migration from the old states to the west, the interest in Revolutionary history would have been confined to the 13 original states. But their sons and daughters have been drawn off to erect new commonwealths toward the west until they have now crossed the continent. This migration is manifest frequently in tracing the genealogy of American families. Successive generations dwell in successive states toward the west. Thus a child may be born in Kansas whose parents migrated to that state from Illinois. The father was a native of Illinois but the grandfather came to that State from western New York. The great-grandfather in turn was not a native of New York but had migrated from Massachusetts, while the great-great-grandfather had been born in England and settled in Massachusetts.

This westward movement has been a powerful factor in fostering American pride and therefore in nationalizing the American people. It has prevented an east and west sectionalism by creating a wide spread interest in the past history common to both. The deeds of the old have become the pride of the new. Faneuil hall, the old state house in Philadelphia, and the Apollo tavern at Williamsburgh, belong to California, to Texas, and to Illinois, as well as to Massachusetts, to Pennsylvania, and to Virginia, in which they were located. Washington, the Adamses, and Patrick Henry are national, not state heroes. The heroism, the privations, and the fruits of the Revolutionary war are national heritages. They are not confined to the 341,000 square miles composing the thirteen states in which the war was largely fought; but they are a part of 3,500,000 square miles which comprise the present continental United States. They are not monopolized by the 3,000,000 people who

made up the population contemporary with the war; but through the migration of their descendants they are the joint property of the 70,000,000 people who now enjoy American independence.

Although the descendants of Revolutionary ancestry have thus carried the priceless heritage of the past in their migration, yet they are now situated far from the scenes of those heroic deeds. No one who has stood on Bunker Hill, at Valley Forge or at Yorktown can ever forget the sensations experienced at the time; but this privilege is given to few people of the west. If Illinois were to be associated only through the migration of her citizens, patriotic feeling might also ebb through very distance. But Illinois is connected much more vitally through the deeds of her few inhabitants who lived at the time of the Revolution. When Washington was driving the British from Boston, when Gates was surrounding Burgoyne at Saratoga, when Greene was outwitting Cornwallis in the south, Illinois was represented by a few scattered villages of French families, among whom were to be found not two score men who could speak the English language.

Yet even in this country of the Illinois, as far west as the Mississippi river, there were men ready to take up arms in aid of the rebelling colonists. These were the French settlers at Kaskaskia and elsewhere, who had been so ill-treated under British administration that when George Rogers Clark and his men arrived they were glad to surrender to him without any resistance. Afterward no less than 85 of these Illinois French enlisted in Clark's company, and actually participated in the struggle for their newly adopted country. Because they were accustomed to the region, they well sustained the hardships which nature imposed upon Clark in his campaigns. Nature became a stronger and more cruel foe in these adventures than the British or the Indians.

Suffering great hardships in their marches through the wilderness, penetrating the tangled undergrowth, wading through icy water in the overflowed valleys, Clark and his men always exhibited the persistent nature of the Virginians and the enthusiastic buoyancy of the French. These two races were thus uniting in the heart of the continent for a common purpose, just as they were coöperating at the court of France. We eulogize the old world French for aiding us in our struggle for independence with money and with armies. Rarely do we recall the aid given in the rigors of the winter season by the French of Illinois. Only two years after the Declaration of Independence was signed, and indeed in the same year in which the first treaty was made between the French and the new republic, Clark and his French volunteers succeeded in establishing our claims to this western country. When we celebrate upon the Fourth day of July the public Declaration of American Independence as proclaimed in the old state house at Philadelphia, let us not forget that according to tradition on that selfsame day, two years later, Clark captured Kaskaskia and thus gained the independence and established the birthday of the Illinois country. Because these heroic acts were performed in the wilderness with no opportunity for keeping records, little remains to recall the actors of the drama save their names alone.

It is true that the genealogy of the French participants in the Clark expedition has not been traced so as to connect Illinois with the Revolution as closely as it deserves; it is also true that there was another enterprise conducted against the enemy from the Illinois country which has been almost entirely lost sight of in history. One preceded even the undertaking of Clark. An Irishman, Tom Brady, the unwritten hero of that early day, raised a force of 16 men at Cahokia one year before Clark reached that country. These he led against the English garrison at Fort St. Joseph, situated near the present city of Niles, Mich. He captured and paroled the garrison of 21 British regulars whom he found stationed there. He burned what provisions he could not carry away and also set fire to the buildings and palisades. Notwithstanding the success thus far, Brady and his men did not succeed in returning to Cahokia. They were overtaken on their return march near where now stands the city of Chicago, by the regulars whom they had paroled at the fort, supplemented by a force of Indian allies. They were all taken prisoners and carried to Canada.

Another expedition was made the summer after Clark reached Illinois by a Frenchman named Meillet, who resided near Peoria. With 300 Indians and French he marched to St. Joseph where the few English troops surrendered once more. This time the force of the invading French was so superior that the British dared not follow them, and Meillet returned victorious to Peoria bearing the supplies captured at the fort as spoils of war.

These undertakings in the Illinois country, although unnoted at the time, served to connect our State directly with the Revolution. These little skirmishes were trifling in comparison with the great battles of the war in the colonies along the coast. Clark and Brady, the English speaking leaders, like their men were scouts and frontiersmen whose descendants would not be prepared even if they were interested in tracing their genealogy. The French volunteers on these two expeditions were in a kind of a transitory allegiance and no doubt many of their descendants followed the leaders who had already gone across the Mississippi into the Spanish Louisiana. In the cases of all the men thus engaged in securing the title to this western country the same condition holds true so far as preserving their memory is concerned. They belonged to the shifting frontier with its frequent removals, due largely to the restless nature of the men themselves. Few records were kept because government was organized only after a sufficient number of inhabitants warranted it. It is also a sad fact that the incoming and conquering American had too little regard for the preservation of the old French records. Only too frequently have they been gotten rid of by being made into bonfires when the new records had accumulated sufficiently to cause a demand for more space.

Owing to these conditions, it is doubtful whether any decendants of these brave and hardy men, either Virginians or French, now have membership in an organization in which they are entitled to a high station. Their places would be as eminent in the roll as those whose ancestors formed part of the well organized army of the east, supplied by the general government and under command of the best officers.

Perhaps it may yet become a part of the work of the historical societies of these states of the Mississippi valley to collect and inscribe for perpetual remembrance the names of those who actually represented this section in the Revolutionary war. It will be a brief list but it will be an honorable one. No doubt in this way for the first time many of the decendants of these men would become aware of the distinguished ancestry which constitute their unknown patrimony; an ancestry which brings to them not coats of arms and heraldic devices but glorious deeds and patriotic sacrifices.

In the brief time afforded since the assignment to me of this subject I have endeavored to make some search of the records with this purpose in view. The name of George Rogers Clark appears several times in the records of the ancestry of the Daughters of the American Revolution but always in connection with the decendants of a brother. In the early period of the organization, it was permitted to count collaterals in this way. Clark had three brothers who distinguished themselves in the Revolution but so far as I am able to ascertain he was the only one of the family who ever saw service west of the Alleghanies. This scout and frontiersman never married. A family tradition is preserved which gives a romantic tinge to this fact. Clark was facinated, it is said, by the beauty of a daughter of the Spanish governor at St. Louis whom he met when at one time he was heading a force to relieve that post from an attack made by hostile Indians. But observing what he considered a lack of courage in the governor, he ceased his attentions to the daughter, saying to his friends: "I will not be the father to a race of cowards." His free and wild life as a scout and soldier was not a good training for even the light bonds of matrimony. Yet a companion might have been a blessing to him when in his last years he lived alone on the island in the river opposite Louisville, Kentucky, where he had raised the corn for his expedition and had drilled his men preparatory to starting westward. He was eventually dependent on his sister for a home. Into this humble dwelling near Louisville came a delegation of members of the state legislature of Virginia to present to the neglected hero a magnificent sword in token of his

Revolutionary services. He received them in his poverty and heard their eulogies in silence. Then he exclaimed: "When Virginia needed a sword, I gave one. She sends me now a toy. I want bread." So saying he thrust the sword into the earth and broke it off with his crutch.

It is said that not half a dozen people in the United States know where Clark is buried. He lies in Cave Hill cemetery, in the city of Louisville. It is to be hoped that some or all of the patriotic societies may find it a task of pleasure as well as a duty to remedy this neglect.

But what of Clark's officers and men? Have their memories been preserved by their descendents and their names entered on the rolls of honor of the patriotic societies? On Clark's muster rolls there are the names of 35 officers. Of these, two ranked as majors, 20 as captains, eight as lieutenants, two as ensigns and one as cornet. Six of these officers were in the original command of 153 men which Clark first led against Kaskaskia. The remainder joined the command at later times. They embraced 85 recruits, who were, from their names, undoubtedly French; but among them there was not one appointed to an office. The reasons for choosing English-speaking rather than French-speaking officers is obvious.

The names of these 35 officers under Clark should stand next to that of their intrepid leader. Their descendants may easily share honors with the descendents of those who commanded under Arnold on his unfortunate expedition against Quebec. Their posterity may claim equal honors with the descendents of the soldiers who fought at Bunker Hill, who suffered the hardships of Valley Forge, or who kept despairing step with the great commander on his retreats in the darkest days of the war. Gladly would the Daughters of the American Revolution welcome to its ranks the children of these officers under Clark, giving them the prestige due to their inheritance. But, as has been said, the frontier surroundings of these men were too transitory for the preservation of complete records. In attempting to ascertain whether any members now enrolled in the D. A. R. trace their ancestry to these officers, I have searched over 11,000 names of ancestors in the official lineage books. In this vast collection of names, I could find but two members who, with any degree of probability, could be said to have traced their lines back to the officers of the Clark expedition.

One of the two cases was that of Ensign Lawrence Slaughter, through whom Mrs. Florence Barker Wilkes, born in the state of Alabama, derives her membership. She bases her rights on the records of the land office, which show that one Lawrence Slaughter, an officer in the Virginia line, received a warrant for public land due to his military service. Since the name, as a whole is not a common one, the chances are that the two Slaughters are identical, and that here is one clear case of an Illinois ancestor in the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The other possible case is that of Mrs. Annie Prewitt Emmal, born in Kentucky. Her great-great-grandfather was James Montgomery, a lieutenant, who received a grant of public land for services in a state regiment of Virginia. The probabilities are that this is the Lieut. James Montgomery who joined the Clark forces after the occupation of Kaskaskia but in time for the expedition against Vincennes.

Verification of these two cases might have been made if time had not been lacking to ascertain the present address of these two members and to communicate with them. It might be added that this search for descendants of the Illinois soldiers could not be carried to any decree of completeness because the lineage books of the Daughters of the American Revolution are far from being up to date. The membership has increased so rapidly that it is impossible to print the volumes, each containing the records of 1,000 members, as promptly as could be desired. It has been customary to issue but one volume each year and thus the arrears have grown.

On Clark's muster rolls, as has been said, were 85 French names of privates, undoubtedly recruited from the Illinois French. They embrace such well known French names as Andree, Antier, Pierre Blancher, Clairmount, Louis Donrichelle, Laviolette, Baptiste Parisienne, Viliers and Villard. It would

be a task of no little magnitude to search through the lineage books of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the purpose of ascertaining whether any members traced their ancestry to these names. But such a cursory examination as I have been able to make shows no instance of this kind. It is no doubt true that the Anglicizing of the French names by the incoming of the English speech has tended to conceal the identity of the original bearers of the name as well as to make more difficult the tracing of their families.

It remains to be suggested what opportunities are presented for the further prosecution of this search. Volume I of the public lands in the American state papers contains the names of many French settlers possessing valid land claims in the Illinois country. After the land conquered by Clark had been organized into public domain of the United States by creating over it the government of the Northwestern Territory, the question of the private ownership of portions of the land naturally arose. The United States government undertook to satisfy all the grants made by the French government and to give each head of a French family residing in the region at the close of the Revolutionary war a tract of 400 acres of land. In 1790 the secretary of the Northwest Territory presented to the president of the United States a list of 120 names representing heads of families at Vincennes, Ind. They are all undoubtedly French names including such as Andrez, Boyer, Charpentier, (Carpenter), Dubois, Gilbert, Lacroix, Perron, or Perrin, and Langlois, or Langley. Yet one searches in vain for a name which was borne by a soldier under George Rogers Clark. To this list the secretary adds the names of 24 widows at Vincennes, but not one bears a name to be found in Clark's muster roll. If it could be proved in this way that some of Clark's French recruits were granted land at or near Vincennes, one important link would be found in the chain of Illinois Revolutionary ancestry. Their decendants could undoubtedly be traced by the subsequent transfers of the land as entered in the official records of the different counties.

Vincennes was such a small and transitory trading post, and was really the last place reached by Clark, that one need not be surprised if few of his recruits came from that point. On the other hand, Kaskaskia and Cahokia were reached much earlier, and were much larger settlements. They must, therefore, have furnished the larger share of recruits. Suppose the same test be made of comparing the heads of families in these settlements with the French recruits of Clark. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find such lists for any place except Vincennes. By the time the government was ready to grant the lands about the Mississippi towns to legitimate claimants, the business of the land office had so increased, and was so much better systematized, that no lists of names were submitted to the headquarters of the government. Only the simple facts pertaining to the adjustment of the French land claims are to be found in the government records.

Evidently the only means left would be the examination of such of the early grants and transfers of land as are preserved in the records of the counties in southern Illinois. Here might be traced the descendants of those French who cast aside their new allegiance to the English sovereign to fight against him on the side of his rebellious colonists. Yet it would be a task too great for an individual, and likely to be accomplished only through some concerted action by an organized body.

The great State of Illinois is proud of the ties which doubly bind her to the Revolutionary past. The one is due, as it has been the endeavor of this paper to show, to her resources and possibilities which have attracted an emigration from the eastern states. The other is the result of her being the stage on which was enacted one of the minor, yet important, dramas of the Revolution. But proud as she is at heart, she has not made as strong an outward manifestation as is demanded of her. The task *remains* of rendering more than a *name* the men who represented Illinois in the Revolution; of tracing their posterity, and of proving their descendents eligible to the patriotic societies having this object in view. Thus the work of the historical and patriotic societies becomes co-operative. The one naturally supplements and does

honor to the other. With every genealogy traced, local history is recorded. With every name mentioned in connection with a local historical event, the record of the patriotic society is made more complete.

One further task I cannot refrain from mentioning although the subject does not properly lie within the scope of this paper. A year or two ago, thanks to the investigation of Mr. Lewis M. Gross, superintendent of the DeKalb county schools, there was discovered near Lily lake, Kane county, Ill., the grave of Abner Powers, a soldier of the American revolution. He had enlisted in Col. John Stark's regiment in 1776 and had served honorably throughout the war. The stone which once marked his grave still showed on the part yet remaining the stars and shield and the date 1776. Is it consistent with the rank and wealth of the great State of Illinois, with the patriotic feeling that has characterized her in a thousand instances, to allow this last resting place of a revolutionary soldier to remain neglected and without proper mark? The case is no doubt repeated many times within the State. What line of activity could more fitly engage the attention of the Illinois State Historical Society as well as the patriotic societies of the State than the inauguration of a joint commission for the purpose of properly marking the last resting places of these soldiers of the Revolution. Above their graves should be erected enduring monuments upon which later generations might read in imperishable inscriptions the valiant deeds of the heroes who lie sleeping in death beneath.

RICHARD YATES' SERVICES TO ILLINOIS AS WAR GOVERNOR.

(By Dr. Wm. Jayne.)

Henry Yates was the son of Abner Yates, and the grandson of Dr. Micheal Yates, a native of England, who emigrated to America prior to the revolution and settled in Caroline county, Va. He there married Martha Marshall, a sister of John Marshall, who in after years, became the eminent chief justice of the United States.

Henry Yates was the father of 12 children, of whom Richard, the subject of this paper, was the second; his name for more than a generation has been a household word; he is popularly spoken of as the "War Governor" and the soldier's friend.

He came when a boy with the family, when his father moved from Kentucky to Illinois, and settled at Springfield in Sangamon county, in the spring of 1831.

Here he made the acquaintance and had in his boyhood for companions the Enos, Matheny, Herndon, Saunders and Slater brothers. A remarkable group of boys. From that group that attended school in the log school house, situated at the corner of Second and Adams streets, and bathed in the ponds of that sparcely populated village, there were chosen in after years three governors and three senators of the United States. In the years to come, Richard Yates had no more firm and steadfast friends, than the associates of his early days, which fact is in evidence of his charming personality, from boyhood onward, through his eventful and brilliant life.

His father was a gentleman of large common sense and excellent business capacity, appreciating the value and advantage of a complete education, sent his son Richard to Jacksonville to become a student in Illinois College.

Jacksonville became his permanent home. After graduating from college, he commenced the study of law and there entered upon the practice of his chosen profession.

Fortune favored him, here he spent most of the years of his life and all the days of his manhood.

Here he lived, loved and was married to one of the lovliest of women, Miss Catherine Geers.

Here he raised to adult life two sons and a daughter; here he lies buried, remembered by all the citizens of this beautiful city as one who had received many honors from and in return had conferred honor upon this educational center.

In the newly settled states, there seems to be an affinity between law and politics. Young Yates believed in the measures and principles of Clay and Webster. Soon he was recognized as an ardent Whig. He became a candidate and was elected a member of the Legislature. He was three times chosen a member, and though young in years, he soon became a prominent and influential representative. Naturally ambitious, he soon thought of higher honors—a seat in Congress of the United States.

The capital district was the only Whig district in the State, and in the ten years prior to 1850 had been represented by a group of exceptionally able men, certainly the equal of any district in the whole country. In 1840, Major John T. Stuart was elected for a second term, Colonel John J. Hardin was elected in 1842, Colonel Edward D. Baker in 1844, Abraham Lincoln in 1846, and Major Thomas H. Harris in 1848. All of whom served as officers in war—Stuart and Lincoln in the Blackhawk war, Hardin, Baker and Harris in the Mexican war. Such was the character of men whom young Yates had to meet in competition in the courts of law and in the public forum of politics. Of Colonel Baker, Mr. Blaine says in his book entitled "Twenty Years in Congress": "Probably no man in the history of the Senate ever left so brilliant a reputation from so short a service." Before this intelligent audience of this society, it is needless to state who Stuart, Lincoln, Hardin and Harris were.

Yet such was the charming popularity of Richard Yates that, commencing at the age of 32, he was three times placed in nomination for a seat in Congress from the capital district, twice elected and once defeated, in 1854, by Major Harris, whom he had defeated in 1850. In 1852, Yates was elected over John Calhoun, when in the capital district Pierce's majority for President was 1,100. Lincoln often said that Calhoun was the ablest Democrat in the State.

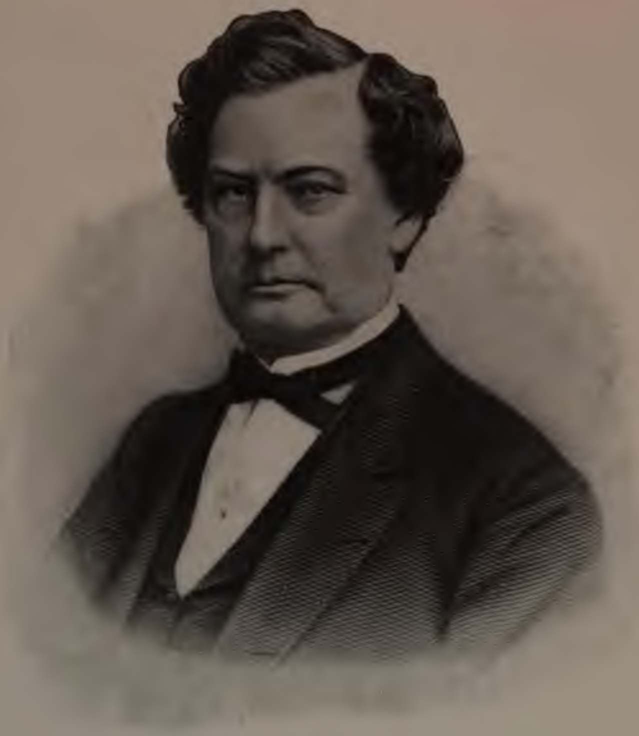
His success in political life was largely due to his personality; he was endowed with a manly carriage, fine presence, cordial manner and happy speech.

The cardinal and salient trait of character of Yates was his love of justice and right; this was inherent in his nature. He was by inheritance and education full of kindness, generosity and courage. He loved peace and enjoyed the sweetness and amenities of social and domestic life, and yet there was in his temperament and ambition that which generates a fondness for the excitement which is ever to be found in the discussion of political affairs; the more the issues relate to the moral than to the material well being of man and society, the more intense the excitement becomes. From the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the great question at issue related to slavery in all its phases.

Richard Yates was anti-slavery, not radical, as Garrison and Phillips, but holding the views of Jefferson, Clay and Lincoln. Willing to abide by the compromises of the Constitution and by the laws of the country, he was opposed to the extension of slavery over any more territory, confining it to the states where it existed, hoping for its ultimate extinction.

He believed in the final triumph of right over wrong. He never feared in his seat in the Legislature, in Congress or in the public forum to proclaim his principles. He believed that the spirit of liberty and the rights of man were eternal, though at times cast down but not destroyed, overwhelmed but not conquered. He was no laggard on any public question; he was a leader and not a follower. In his great speech at Elgin, July 4, 1865, he discussed the question of universal suffrage with the courage of his convictions, which gave proof that he was a far-sighted and sure-footed statesman.

From the day of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the people of this country were aroused as never before; political feeling became intense. From 1854 to 1860 each biennial election seemed to add fuel to the fire.



RICHARD YATES.
War Governor of Illinois.

With the election of Pierce, in 1852, came the dissolution of the Whig party. The Republican party sprang into existence as an anti-slavery party, to contest with the Democratic party for control of the government.

The Republican party was formed largely from the members of the old Whig party, with the addition of a portion of the Democratic party of what was termed free-soilers.

In the election of 1860, there were four national tickets in the field, Lincoln heading the Republican, Douglas the Northern Democrat, Breckenridge the Pro-slavery Democrat, and Bell the Constitutional Union.

The election of Mr. Lincoln aroused the people of the southern states, more especially the cotton states, into a state of excitement, unrest, of positive frenzy. Jefferson Davis the recognized Democratic leader of the Thirty-sixth Congress, in December prior to the inauguration of Lincoln, boldly proclaimed from his seat in the Senate, the right of secession and denying that of coercion, and urged the withdrawal of the garrison from Fort Sumter.

Mississippi seceded on the 9th day of January, and on the 24th of January, having been officially informed of the fact, Mr. Davis withdrew from the Senate and went home.

On the 9th of February he was elected President of the Confederate States. The winter of 1860–61 was a period of intense excitement and alarm, in social, business and financial circles, throughout the whole country, as well as in the legislatures of all the states and in the national Congress. The peace congress was held in Washington, composed of the most able and distinguished men of most of the states, appointed by the governors of their respective states, to try to find some way of compromise, that would allay the storm and harmonize conflicting interests. All efforts proved futile, answering no pacific end. The winter passed on, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4th and assumed control of the government. We know that his message was full of kindness and affection, peace and conciliation, yet of firmness and resolution to protect and preserve the Union and constitution.

The attack of April 12th on Fort Sumter precipitated the war. The entire north was at once ablaze with a fire of patriotism and loyalty. The President issued his proclamation calling for volunteers. Governor Yates convened the Legislature in extra session. War was upon us, the military system of the country had fallen into disuse and we were illy prepared for the coming conflict.

Governor Yates was by mental temperment, active, earnest, alert; he had by association while in Congress come in close contact and communication with the southern political leaders, he fully recognized the force and violence of the impending war; as much as any one man in the free states, he felt that the war for supremacy was to be fiercely and persistently fought out with all opposing forces which could be rallied by the people of the north and south; yet he was full of faith that the right would win, and that the Union and the Constitution would finally triumph.

The bankers of Springfield placed at the disposal of the Governor $100,000, to defray the temporary expenses of the military forces until the extra session of the legislature should make ample provision for the care and support of the soldiers.

The Governor felt the military importance of taking possession of Cairo, located at the extreme southern end of the State and commanding the trade and commerce of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. After a consultation with his associate State officers, he dispatched John W. Bunn, as his confidential agent, to make arrangements with the authorities of the Central railroad to at once transport the military forces of Chicago and the field batteries to Cairo, there to hold and fortify that place. His directions were promptly carried out by General Swift, largely aided by the able and active coöperation of Jos. D. Webster, who had served in the Mexican war, and afterwards became chief of staff to General Grant.

DESTRUCTION OF THE FOX INDIANS IN 1730

BY THE FRENCH AND THEIR ALLIES.

(By John F. Steward.)

As a descent of family names suggests family traditions, so fragments of history may be gleaned from the nomenclature of a region.

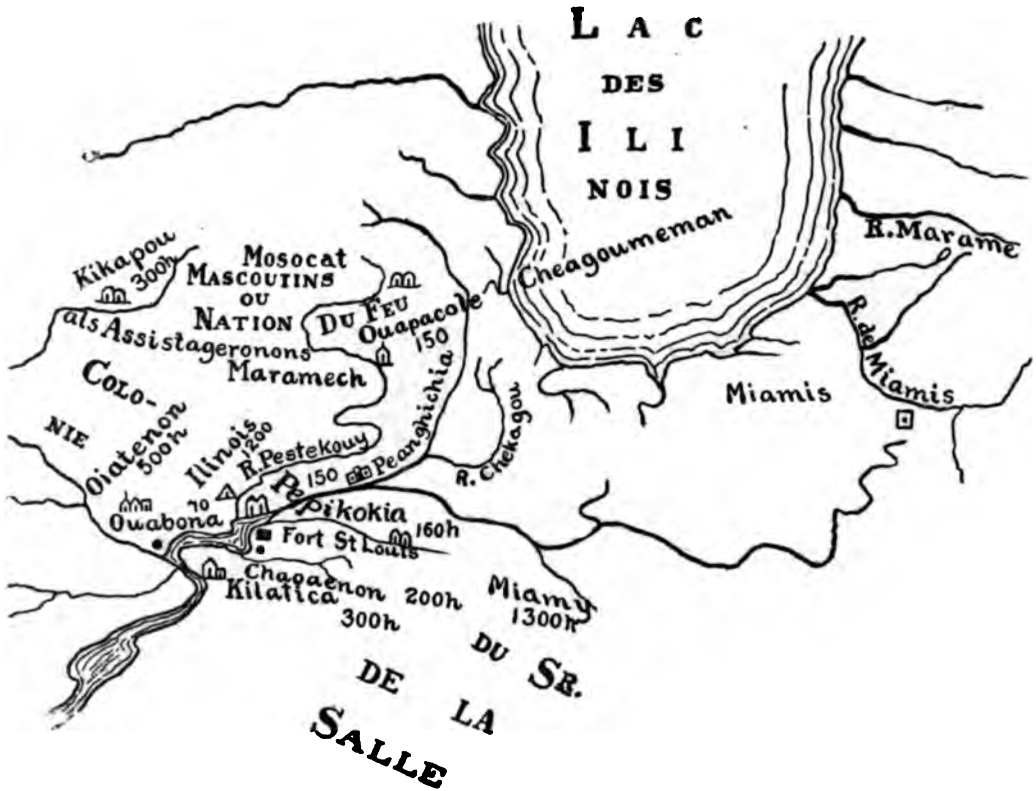
In Kendall county, Ill., are two small streams that unite and, within a fraction of a mile, enter the Fox river. The Little Rock creek and Big Rock creek. Why so called, and when so named? Tradition is silent. They are characterized by no rock larger than the boulders in their channels. The early French explorers tell us that in no other equal area was game found so abundant in both variety and quantity. Far greater than elsewhere in numbers, were the buffalo. So abundant were the herds that this beautiful river, heading in and near Pistakee lake, bore the Algonquin name Pestekouy. The lake speaks, as the river once did, the name of the erstwhile pride of our western prairies. We read of the river in Tonti's memoirs. LaSalle and members of his party explored it, and Charlevoix speaks of the richness of the country bordering on it, and the abundance of game. So well did LaSalle become acquainted with this region, that in 1683, upon his return to Canada, he gave to Franquelin the information which enabled him to make his maps of 1684 and 1687. On those maps, along the course of the Pestekouy, are many villages, among which is the "great village of Maramek" (Maramech). Several years of research have convinced me that O'Callaghan, Tailhan and all others have been mistaken in placing the "great village of Maramek" on the Kalamazoo river of Michigan; no town or evidences of great population are there shown on any of the 20 early maps before me. The "Maramech" and "Maramec" of Franquelin's maps of 1684 and 1687 respectively, was the center of the Miami population, and the metropolis; there were the Peanguichias, the Kilaticas, Pepikokias, Weas and others, (all Miamis) while he shows no town or tribe on his Marame and Marameg, now the Kalamazoo.

In 1672 Allouez met the "Machkoutench, Marameg, Kikaboua Illinoue *Pepikoukia*, Kilitika" and others, all later mapped in the so-called "Colonie du Sr. de LaSalle." He says (Relations of 1672), "they were deeper in the woods [from the Mission of St. Francis Xavier], but he errs by saying they were to the "westward" for they were, in fact, on the "Pestekouy River," which heads within a few leagues of the site of his Mission at Green Bay. They were not the Marameg̃s north of Lake Superior, nor were they people of the river "Maramac" of Michigan, for they were in the very midst of the tribes he mentions, where LaSalle found them. They were of the "great village of Maramek," referred to in the reports of 1695, (N. Y. Col. Docts. vol. 9, p. 621-624) where we read, "Sieur Perrot presented a robe on the part of the *Pepicoquis*, who also are Miamis of Maramek."

When Perrot was sent by the Governor of New France to ally the western tribes against the Iroquois, he visited the Miamis of Maramech. Among the deputies from these tribes, who met in council with the French, were Micitonga and Nanangousista, chiefs of the "great village of Maramek." That it was probably a metropolis is evidenced by the fact that for more than two miles along the river, from beautiful Sylvan spring to the great mounds of Galena limestone, an acre in extent, that rise 35 feet above the water's level, where frowns the "old mill," are evidences of occupation. The plow has turned the soil so many times that the potsherds, never too well burned, have almost disappeared. The overflows have obliterated the mounds where 27 years ago, when began my discoveries, my spade laid bare the bones of ancient dwellers of Maramech. Along the river burnt stones have shown where were the domestic and council fires.

'Neath the sod of the hill that slopes to the sun, lie the later occupants of the great village. In the graves, trinkets of Eupropean origin have been found, and in the valley the plow has aided the archæologists for many years, and bushels of implements tell of long occupation. With time and change the name of the village became modified and on the map of Coronelli (1688)


Crique du Rocher Grand.
Saint-Ange's Position.
Crique du Rocher Petite.
Position
Burial Mounds.
Riviere du Rocher.
Map of site of
Maramech
&
of the Destruction
of the Foxes
1730.


LAC
DES
ILI
NOIS
Cheagoumeman
R. Marame
R. de Miamis
Miamis
Kikapou 300h
Mosocat
MASCOUTINS
OU
NATION DU FEU
als Assistageronons
Maramech
Ouapacole
150
Peanghichia
R. Chekagou
COLO-
NIE
Oiatenon 500h
Ilinois 1200
R. Pestekouy
150
Pepikokia
70
Ouabona
Fort St Louis
160h
Chaoaenon 200h
Kilatica 300h
Miamy 1300h
DU SR.
DE LA
SALLE

it is given as Maramea, and on that of Sautteri (1710) Maraux. When the buffalo last grazed upon the five prairies that neighbor there is not definitely known, nor when the river lost the name first given, and why. On French maps a score of years later we find the stream well laid down, and the name "Riviere du Rocher" (River of the Rock). It is in fact a river characterized by a rock which is bathed by it, and which has material sufficient to build a village. On maps published late in the Eighteenth century, we find no more the French name but instead Fox river.

About 1640 among the Algonquin tribes, near Lake St. John, in Canada, was one that is known in recent history, as the Foxes. As the shield of Christian Great Britain bears the lion, Christian Russia has its bear, and the seal of the United States of Christian civilization, the eagle, so, upon the shields of this savage tribe, was found its totem, a fox. Hence they were called Watagamies by the other tribes (that word being the Algonquin word for Fox), Renards by the French, and, later, Foxes by the English. A turbulent people they were, from start to finish of their history. So marked was their belligerence, that they were made to flee to the west, with a nation kindred by marriages, by language and by habits, the Sacs. In their westward wanderings the Sacs (Sauks) left the name to the great bay of Lake Huron, Saukenong.

We hear of the Foxes but little until the time of the arrival of Father Allouez, probably for the reason that Chouart and Radisson, Nicolet and other clandestine traders, dared not make records regarding the people they met. When the legitimate traders came, the Jesuits followed, and the leisure and vainglory of the latter, permitted and prompted them to write volumes regarding their great discoveries and accomplishments in the missionary field. They told of the visits to the Renards, on Green Bay and along the Wisconsin river, where were Hurons, Sacs and other tribes that had been driven westward by the Iroquois. Belligerent though some were, they lived in comparative harmony, the "one touch of nature" being that of defence against the Iroquois. As early as 1664 a portion of the Foxes were known as the Musquakees, that is, people of the red earth. Why this, we are not told; but along the borders of Green Bay are bluffs known as the "Red Banks." Earth works there are still visible. One of the traditions of the bay tells us that these Foxes fortified themselves there and were there besieged: canoes filled with warriors approached the shore, and upon the highlands the enemy infested the fort. Days of hunger passed; at last a spirit appeared in the distracted imagination of a young warrior, and bade him take courage. During the profound sleep of the over-confident besiegers the Foxes escaped. The Watagamies (the Foxes proper) and they became so closely associated that no distinction has been made by other writers than LaPotherie. Perrot was one of the first explorers to win the esteem of the western tribes, and the Foxes, in time of trouble, pleaded with him for aid, as with a father. With him to the council at Montreal in 1670 this nation sent deputies, where the western tribes were urged to join the French against the Iroquois.

The Foxes, more than any other tribe, vacillated between the French and the English, in disposing of their peltries, which gave the French much trouble. By the year 1700, French traders of Canada began to descend the Mississippi and those of Louisiana to pass up the Illinois and Kankakee rivers, thus reaching Lake Michigan by the way of a portage into the St. Joseph river and from the Des Plaines to the lake, at Chicago, or took the Wisconsin route. These portages were absolutely under the control of the Foxes, and, like civilized nations of today, they required toll for the right to pass through their territory. This angered the French to such an extent that their destruction was decided upon, for it was thought that in no other way could communication between Louisiana and Canada be kept open. To this end, it seems, when in 1712 various western tribes were asked by the commandant at Detroit to settle near the fort, the first bloody step was taken. The Foxes came, they claimed, by invitation. Du Buisson, the commandant, sent runners to bring in various friendly tribes, and, without sufficient justification, the latter were permitted to make war on the little band of Foxes. A siege of many days followed. The Foxes threw up earth works, but soon

found that all efforts must necessarily end in defeat; they asked to hold a council, but all overtures were refused. On a stormy night they escaped and reached a peninsula that thrust itself into Lake St. Clair; there they were soon discovered and forced to surrender at discretion. Their captors in revenge, and often in mere sport, shot them down.

In 1716 Des Lignerie, commandant at Mackinaw, moved against the Foxes located on the Wisconsin river and, at the Buttes des Mortes, wrought wholesale slaughter. In 1728, he again moved against them, but they had received warning and had fled. Their fields of corn were destroyed and their villages burned. So far as this, my story has been told in part by the early writers, who also inform us that in 1730, somewhere not far from "The Rock," the last attempt to destroy this tribe was made. Where the final defeat took place, heretofore has been unknown. Parkman, in his "Half Century of Conflict," says, "The accounts of the affair are obsure and not trustworthy," and Ferland in his "Histoire du Canada" says that it was near the Rock on the Illinois river. The only reason that they have for saying that it was on or near the Illinois river is that the official reports speak of "The Rock," and refer to the tribe of "Illinois of the Rock." Where they met defeat is, in fact, 30 miles from LaSalle's "Rock," a distance as naught in a country so vast.

From my boyhood days I wandered over the beautiful island-like hill, whereon hangs my tale. Often I sat in the shade of the great trees upon the south end of this hill, and looked over the valley of the river and the two creeks between which the hill so snugly lies. I often wondered why the so-called "Mound Builders" who left heaps of earth along the high bluffs of the river, had not chosen this place for burials. Again casting my eyes over the surface, as I had done many times before, I noticed a semicircular ditch which, with the southern brow of the hill, completed the circle, containing something over two acres of land. Evidently this had been a palisaded defence. Where one part of the ditch reached the brow of the hill, it passed downward and I plainly saw that there had been a covered way to the little creek which, at that time, bathed the foot of the hill, but which, by the hand of man, has been given another course to turn the wheels of industry. The river is a warm stream; the waters of the creek are spring-born, and hence cool in summer. Along the river, that within my memory was so rich in fish and game, ran a trail, and where it crossed the cool stream, I reasoned there must have been a village.

At the margin of a newly plowed field, where a little gully had been cut by recent rains, I found evidences that some dusky Rebecca of Maramech had broken her water-jug. From this beginning, sprang a desire to investigate, and ever since that time my thirst for archaeological knowledge has led me into a long course of investigations. Here, within a stonethrow of the site of "the great village of Maramech," discovered at the same time, on this beautiful hill the Fox nation met what may practically be considered extinction.

Between the years 1720 and 1730 the political relations of the Sacs and Foxes had become somewhat strained. Not that the Sacs loved the Foxes less, but more the privileges of trade with the French. The move against the Foxes in 1728 made such an impression upon the minds of the other savage nations that they persisted in their alliance with the French, and in the war against the Foxes. Some time just previous to 1730 a party of 200 surprised 20 lodges of Foxes, and massacred 80 men and 300 women and children. Later, the principal chief passed to the river St. Joseph and begged the commandant for mercy. The commandant at Mackinaw advised the Governor that the allies begged him to put himself at their head in order to fall upon the Foxes, which he did with 600 savages and 20 Frenchmen. The Governor wrote to all of the commandants to accept no proposition from the Foxes without further orders from him, for he had resolved to keep the allies with him until the Foxes were destroyed, or had fully submitted.

Such was the pressure brought upon this fragment of the once numerous Fox nation, by the French and their allies, that they were driven to seek protection with their erstwhile enemies, the Iroquois, who for so many years hap

been the terror of all the western tribes. The half friendly Wea branch of the Miamis at this time was on the Wabash. There the Foxes hoped to reach an asylum and rest for a time. The most direct route was by the way of the Kishwaukee trail, which took them southeastwardly, one of the many that led to Maramech. Deeply worn, it was apparent long years after the white settler had turned the sod. Between 200 and 300 warriors, with an unusual proportion of women and children, plodded, snail-like, over this highway.

Two years before, Father Guignas, taken prisoner by the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, made such a favorable impression upon his captors as not only to win his freedom and that of his companions, but an alliance between these tribes and the French. To keep the good will of the French, it was necessary for these tribes to turn against the Foxes, on whom, during the weary retreat, they made a running fight, until nearing the fording place of the river that now bears their name, the latter were forced to make a stand. One hundred and eleven shelters were formed by them, by leveling little places and upon them erecting protections for temporary use.

The Kickapoos and Mascoutins gave warning to Saint Ange, commandant at Fort Chartres, to the commandant at Green Bay and to De Villiers, commandant at the River St. Joseph. Early in the summer of 1730, two Mascoutins, arriving at the River St. Joseph, informed De Villiers that there was fighting between the "Rock" and the Weas, and that other tribes had joined the Illinois and fallen upon the Foxes, who found themselves hemmed in, but that the Illinois, at the moment of victory, had fled. Some of the attacking party and many Foxes were killed. The French at Kaskaskia taunted the Illinois warriors, by saying they were women, and did not know how to fight; that as for themselves, they would take their negroes (slaves) and with them defeat the Foxes. Saint Ange had heard that the Foxes were upon a wooded island in temporary shelters, and believed that if they remained there they would be defeated, for De Villiers was expected from the River St. Joseph. The Foxes gave out that they were expecting a large party of Iroquois to offer them refuge. They had fled from their homes in Wisconsin, down the Kishwaukee trail, beyond the ancient site of Maramech, but had been driven back thither, and there built their fort. Saint Ange left Fort Chartres in July, 1730, and when joined by the Illinois, who had first shown weakness, found his command to number 500 men, Kickapoos, Mascoutins and "Illinois of the Rock" (a remnant of the Illinois tribe that had previously been driven from the Illinois river by the Foxes). These nations had taken positions to prevent further progress of the Foxes. Thus threatened, the latter fortified themselves a league from the "Rock." On the 12th of August, Saint Ange's scouts discovered the whereabouts of the Foxes. "On the 17th, 40 hunters were encountered and driven into their fort, which was a little bunch of wood, enclosed with palisades, situated upon a slope, which rose gently in the direction of the west and northwest from a little river."

Standing within this enclosure, and looking south over the brow of the hill and its rifle pits, "the river of the Rock," as known in 1730, is but a quarter of a mile away. To the east, bordering the amphitheatre that rises gradually to the west and northwest, is the Big Creek of the Rock, the "little river" mentioned in the early accounts.

Come with me when, as then, the nuts are ripe on Maramech hill. The haze of Indian summer blends the prairies in all directions into the horizon. About two miles, nearly an old French land league (2 4-10 miles), immediately under the noonday's sun, is the "rock" upon the river. Upon either bank is seen great prairies that extend to the southeast and to the southwest. To the north of us is the prairie that leads far into Wisconsin. To the east of the Big Creek of the Rock is only a prairie, and between Blackberry creek and the river, further to the east, is another.

Warned of the approaching armies by smoke during the day and signal fires at night, the Foxes, foreseeing the necessity for vigorous defense, had constructed upon the southern extremity of the hill a palisaded work. The warriors busied themselves at the chase in their efforts to supply provisions, while the women and the old men were busy with the hatchet and improvised digging tools in raising the fort, which they hoped would prove their safety,

but which became, in fact, a trap. Within the stockade were a thousand women and children, half starved. The high point at the north end served the Foxes as a watch tower. Looking over and beyond the site of ancient Maramech, northward, upon the prairies, are the watchmen scanning the horizon for signals of De Noyelle's approach. Along the ridge that forms the summit are warriors commanding the slopes to the southeast, and at the same time to the northwest. Saint Ange was approaching from the southwest, under cover of the woods, along the river, and De Villiers was coming from the east. De Noyelles was marching over the well worn and later known "Great Sauk trail" from Detroit. Saint Ange, encountering some of the hunters, drove them before him. Scouts hastened after. They cautiously approached the river, and looking to the west and northwest, up the gentle slope, they discovered the temporary shelters late deserted by the Foxes. The hunters that fled before Saint Ange told of his nearness, and warned all to the stockade. For two days the advancing army marched under cover of the woods, upon the eastern bank of the river. Saint Ange crossed the river at the "Rock," and took his position upon the east side of the large Creek of the Rock. At Saint Ange's approach, the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, who had long been awaiting his coming, joined their forces with his, and the siege began. Upon the first day two unsuccessful attempts to escape were made by the Foxes. "A trench was opened on the following night, and each worked to fortify himself at the post assigned him. The enemy asked to parley. They offered to give up prisoners, and returned several, in fact, but as it seemed to Saint Ange that they were only attempting to gain time, he renewed the attack."

A few days later, 50 Frenchmen and 500 savages, commanded by DeVilliers, arrived. He crossed the river of the Rock, passed around to the north of the hill, crossed the Big creek of the Rock, planted his "cavalier" (a little fort protecting other forts) across the valley to the west, a rifle shot from the stockade, to protect his rifle pits, the scars of which still remain. To protect the southern semi-circle of the fort, formed by the brow of the hill, the Foxes made rifle pits by leveling away the ground and, it seems, there placing logs. The warriors, thus protected, stood ready to cast upon whomsoever might approach, a shower of arrows and missels of war. The muzle-loading flint-lock rifle was too slow for such work; it was possible for a warrior to keep two arrows in the air at once.

It was but the task of a moment, in the darkness, for the braves of Saint-Ange to cross the Big creek of the Rock, and, protected by its bank, of a man's height, command the slope of the hill, no part of which was beyond rifle shot. Where the second growth timber stands, that now covers the slope, was then an open wood. A rush on the part of DeVilliers up the bluff at the north, in the darkness, enabled him to drive the warriors from the crest into the stockade, and to begin his trenches.

The Foxes begged for mercy, which tempted DeVilliers, but the Illinois would consent to no terms. The Sacs, however, were only half-hearted and attempted to aid the Foxes by furnishing ammunition and helping them to escape. This discovered, the other savages threatened vengeance upon the Sacs, but Saint-Ange advanced with 100 Frenchmen and restored order. DeNoyelle soon arrived with ten Frenchmen and 200 Indians from the Miamis. He brought positive orders that there should be no compromise and all joined for the total destruction of the Foxes. Hunger reigned on both sides. The allies were reduced to eating their raw-hide shields. Two hundred Illinois deserted, September 7. The Foxes were pressed harder every day. Saint-Ange completed a small fort two pistol shot away, which was intended to cut off communication with the water, but it proved of no value, for the Foxes had found subterranean means for getting a supply. Certain starvation became apparent, and it seemed that time must, in the end win the victory. A parley was asked, but the French and allies feared treachery, and would accept no terms.

On the 8th of September a violent storm arose, and a dark cold night followed. The watchfulness on the part of the allies was relaxed, and the Foxes escaped. The cry of a child coupled with the information received

from a Sac woman, gave notice of the escape. Upon the approach of day the savages most fresh followed. The women, children and old men had been placed in the van of the retreating column, and the warriors took positions in the rear, to cover the retreat. Suddenly their ranks were broken, and they were defeated. The number of dead and prisoners was about 300 wariors and 1,000 women and children.

The accounts of this affair have been buried in the archives of France. Ferland (Cours de Histoire du Canada) unearthed a document from which I received my first information of the affair. Since that time I have acquired six documents through the kindness of Prof. Chas. M. Andrist, who undertook the search for me. From these I compile my story.

My purpose now is but to record my discoveries of the true ancient site of the "great village of Maramech," and the locality of the old fort. This stood upon the hill which rises gently to the west and northwest from the larger creek of the Rock, and which, at the south, is washed by the lesser creek of the Rock. The covered way, up which water was brought, a mere ditch at the time of my discovery, has since washed into a wide gully. Upon the western side of the hill a gravel-spit has within a few years, been carried across the swamp and the long lost battlefield can now be reached dry-shod. At the time of the tragedy, the unbroken swamp, which bounded it on the north and west, found an outlet into the two creeks, which fact warranted the statement in one of the military reports that it was practically an island. At the middle of the old enclosure a boulder now rises seven feet, and upon it is this inscription:

"Three hundred warriors, with women and children, were besieged here by thirteen hundred French and allies, August 17th, 1730; escaped Sept. 9th. Captured—Tortured—Killed. French trenches on north end of hill. "The Rock" spoken of by Ferland (Histoire du Canada), two miles south, is partly quarried away. The Maramech of Franquelin's map of 1684, was near. Site identified and stone placed by John F. Steward, 1874-1900."

The old fort is now the property of School district No. 9, town of Little Rock, Kendall county. My purpose in purchasing and donating the bit of land to the school, because of its historical interest, was to provide that after Time palsies my hand and bids my tongue be still, it may never be desecrated by the plow or sold for taxes.

To the south a short league is "The Rock." To the north lie the remains of some who doubtless were of the besieging party. Where lie the besieged, we shall not know. The spring floods of the river and creeks, have covered and in turn laid bare their bones, and the elements have wasted all. Peaceful site of Maramech! Charming in thy vernal verdure, rich in the ripeness of the year, erstwhile home of the children of the wilderness and place of one of the greatest tragedies of the west, now the romantic region sought by pleasure seekers, by the weary, and by lovers, when my heart ceases to perform its physical functions, then shall my love for thy beauties cease, and not till then.

IN MEMORIAM.

MARY NASH STUART.

But one death has occurred in the membership of the Illinois State Historical society since the date of its last annual meeting. In the fullness of years, Mrs. John T. Stuart, an honorary member of this society, after a long, honored, and useful life, passed away to everlasting rest.

Mary Virginia Nash, the only child of Francis Nash and Judith Bland, was born in Prince Edward county, Va., on the 25th day of August, 1816. Her parents were both natives of Virginia and resided on a plantation a short distance from Prince Edward courthouse, at that time one of the centers of culture and refinement of the old Dominion; and their home was marked by the social enjoyments and generous hospitality characteristic of Virginia planters early in the last century.

MRS. JOHN T. STUART.

When the subject of this sketch was but a year old her parents migrated to Missouri territory, then in the far west, and settled above St. Louis near the mouth of the Missouri river, where she passed her childhood amid the happy surroundings of a typical southern home. But the death of her mother, when she was 10 years of age, and that of her father six years later, left her an orphan. For a short time she resided in the household of Hon. Hamilton Gamble of St. Louis, and then became one of the family of her aunt, the wife of Judge Samuel D. Lockwood, the well-known eminent jurist, at Jacksonville, Ill. She was a beautiful and sprightly girl, of quick perception, and intelligent; and though the education of young ladies was then not considered as important as it now is, she acquired a fair common school education, that was in after life reënforced by extensive reading, observation and study. She then became a member of the Presbyterian church; and, at the residence of Judge Lockwood, on the 25th of October, 1837, by the ministration of Rev. Julian Sturtevant, she was united in mariage to John T. Stuart, then an ambitious young lawyer of worth and promise.

They located in Springfield, and there passed the rest of their days; and to the First Presbyterian church in that place Mrs. Stuart transferred her membership, ever after conforming with earnest sincerity to that faith. For more than 63 years she resided here—during the most eventful period of our State and national existence—and saw the town expand from a collection of cabins to a large and opulent city, and the State develop from a prairie waste to its present proud position in the American republic.

She was the contemporary and personal acquaintance of Lincoln, Baker, Hardin, Douglas and all that host, now passed into history, whose names are inseparably interwoven with the glory of Illinois. She was one of the most prominent and highly esteemed women in central Illinois. Her gentle nature and purity of character, her amiable, charitable disposition, and affectionate consideration of her family and friends, commanded the deference and admiration of all who knew her. Back of that attractive personalty was a christian devotion and conscientious sense of duty that radiated a charm upon her wide social circle.

She passed the threshold of the new century with faculties bright and unimpaired, and in the enjoyment of the fruits and blessings of a well-spent life until the 30th day of May, 1901, when her spirit took its flight to the unseen. Her mortal remains, aged 84 years, 9 months and 5 days, were laid to rest beside those of her honored husband, who had preceded her, in beautiful Oak Ridge cemetery, near the capital city. Of her children, Elizabeth, Virginia, Frank, Edward, John T., Robert and Hannah, only the last named three survive her.

ADDENDUM.

FROM ADVANCE SHEETS OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE McLEAN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS.

Life and Character of Honorable Isaac Funk.

[By Hon. L. H. Kerrick.]

Celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the settlement of Funk's Grove, under auspices of the McLean County Historical society.

Tacitus, the Roman author and historian, wrote of the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, deeming it a pious duty. With such an illustrious example before me, I make no appology for attempting to write of the life of my father-in-law, Hon. Isaac Funk, I only lament my want of skill to write of his character and achievements as they deserve.

Isaac Funk was born Nov. 17, 1797, on a farm in Clark county, Ky.; he died, after a brief illness, in the home of his son, Duncan, in Bloomington, Ill., Jan. 29, 1865—the span of his earthly career being 67 years, 2 months and 12 days—he lies buried here in Funk's Grove cemetery, remote from travelled ways and thronged towns, beside the same still running stream and in the heart of the same magnificent forest which captivated his eye, when, as a young, strong man, full of ambition, and hope, and energy, he came this way in search of home and fortune. By his side lie the remains of his beloved and faithful wife, Casandra, whose death occurred only about four hours later than his.

One could hardly conceive a resting place more fitting for a grave, strong, noble child of nature, such as he was, than this secluded spot. He lived and wrought with nature; the fields, the trees, the streams, the sun, and moon, and stars, the rains, the winds and the snows were his companions and co-workers in life, and they have not forgotten nor forsaken him.

These majestic trees keep their stately vigil about his grave; the winds sigh over it; summer spreads it with her soft carpet of green; winter with noiseless hands lays her deep white pall above it; the moon and stars look tenderly down through the silence of night upon it; his labors done, he sleeps in nature's own home, enfolded in nature's own dear bosom.

Of Mr. Funk's remoter ancestry, unfortunately we have but little accurate knowledge; the associates of his youth have passed with him, and we can not go to them for information. He never talked much about his ancestors, and he left nothing in writing about them. We do not set this down to any want of respect on Mr. Funk's part for their memory. It will be borne in mind that he died when not far past the meridian of life, at a time when his business interests had reached their greatest proportions.

He was State senator, adding the duties of this important office to the burden of his private affairs; he was always completely engrossed with the business of the present, having little time to reflect upon, or talk about the past.

If Mr. Funk had lived to that age when men usually are obliged to relax their more active business life, no doubt he would have been inclined, as others have been, to review his early life, and we would have been now in possession of many interesting facts, which, as it is, are out of our reach and will probably so remain.

The name is German; his grandfather, Adam Funk, was German born, but in what place or province we do not know. He came to this country about the middle of the eighteenth century, and probably settled first in Pennsylvania. Lists of German emigrants who settled in and near Philadelphia and in Lancaster county about that time, show that the Funks were heading toward America in considerable numbers. The name occurs very frequently in these lists. Isaac Funk's father, whose name also was Adam, was reared in Virginia; in his lifetime he acquired and lost a considerable fortune; his chief losses came by standing surety for his friends. His wife's name was Sarah Moore, and she was of German descent. They had nine children—six boys and three girls—Absalom, John, Jacob, Sarah, Isaac, Jesse, Dolly, Dorothea and Robert.

We cannot fix the exact date at which the family moved to Kentucky, but it was not far from 1790. Of the Kentucky home, where Isaac was born, nothing remains but a heap of stones and debris where the chimney once stood. The first ten years of life were spent here; all knowledge of the manner in which those years were spent perished with Mr. Funk. We can guess that he picked up chips or carried wood for his mother, or drove the chickens off the garden, or brought the cow, or had his face washed and kept still and ate at the second table when there was company, as did other well-regulated boys, receiving from time to time, with what grace he possessed, such corporal and other punishments as his shortcomings indicated to be needful for his present and future well being. Three or four of those years and he was of suitable age to be going to school, but it is altogether improbable that there was any school in Clark county at that time within the boy's reach.

In 1807 the family removed to Fayette county, Ohio, and settled on Paint Creek, about six miles northeast of Washington Court House, and four miles south of what is now the village of Bloomingburg—a beautiful and fertile region then, as it is now. Mr. Funk spent 13 consecutive years at this place; being then 23 years old he went over into Virginia and worked a year in the Kanawa salt works; returned then to the Ohio home, remaining there two years more. During his residence in Ohio Mr. Funk worked on a farm most of the time, sometimes at home, sometimes working out by the month. Together with his father and older brother Absalom, he did some trading in cattle, hogs and other stock.

An unlucky venture of some kind brought Mr. Funk in debt about $2,000—a very great sum in those days, especially when on the wrong side of the account. This debt still hung over him when he came to Illinois, but we can say that it was not many years until he was able to return to Ohio and pay his debt with its interest, which he faithfully did.

All the schooling Mr. Funk ever got, he received while living in Ohio. We learn that he attended school, all told, parts of three winters; this when he was 10 to 13 years old. We know nothing of the character of his school; of his teacher all we know is that he was renowned as a very severe disciplinarian even for that day. Mr. Funk often alluded to the frequent and fearful thrashings that he gave his pupils; much of the time of school was occupied with that work; all remembrance of the other qualifications of the teacher, if he had any, seem to have faded from Mr. Funk's mind.

We who know all about schooling, smile at the old time methods, and yet there must have been some kind of virtue and a good deal of it, in those backwoods schools, otherwise how will we explain the fact that so many boys of those days with so little schooling accomplished so much, while now so many with so much schooling, accomplish so little. Then, with two or three years schooling, men built fortunes and states; now a good many of us with 22 or 23 years of schooling are just about as able to live off the State or to squander a fortune.

In 1823, presumably late in the year, accompanied by his brother, Absalom, Mr. Funk set out for Illinois. He arrived in Sangamon county in the month of April, 1824. In a sketch of his, left published in 1874, it is asserted that he was detained for a long time on the western journey by high water in the Wabash river; I can not accept this for authentic history. Anyone who knew Isaac Funk or who will study his character, can hardly believe that a few feet of water, more or less, in the Wabash, would have made much effect upon his movements. In May he came on to this part, and pitched his camp on the east side, just in the edge of this grove, near the center of the south side of what is now section 16, about a mile and a half east and a half mile south of this church and cemetery. From Sangamon county Mr. William Brock and wife came with the Funks, and all lived together for a part of a year in the first cabin.

The next winter, Robert Stubblefield with his wife, who was a sister of the Funk's, came out from Ohio and joined the brothers in their new home.

Still holding his position here, in the year 1825 or 1826, or maybe in each of these years, Mr. Funk went to Fort Clark, now Peoria, and raised a crop of corn on river bottom land near that place. We can safely surmise that this move was necessary in order to get a little ready money; there was a market there and some ground open for tillage. While at Peoria he made the acquaintance of Miss Casandra Sharp; in June, 1826, they were married; the pair returned immediately to Funk's Grove, and there lived their lives, very near the place where the first camp was made. From Mr. Funk's marriage dates the beginning of his remarkable career.

His purpose in coming to Illinois was to get a place and room where he could raise, feed and deal in cattle, hogs and other farm stock. He had acquired some knowledge of the business in Ohio, and no doubt a taste for it also. When he married and brought his bride back to Funk's Grove, we may know the purpose was fixed to follow that kind of business and that Funk's Grove would be the place where he would follow it.

There were then less than 20 families in the whole territory included now in the bounds of McLean county; of course there was not much farm stock of any kind.

The Funks began to farm a little with such implements as they could get or make; and to buy what stock there was for sale within their reach. They bought cattle, hogs, sheep, horses and mules, and drove to market wherever a market could be found. The brothers, Isaac and Absalom, were equal partners in all these transactions.

They went to Sangamon county and other older settlements, as they gained a little headway in the business, and bought cattle and brought them to the home place; these they would graze for a season or perhaps feed awhile, according to their condition, and then find a market for them. Their first markets were Peoria and Galena—later Chicago. Sometimes they took droves of cattle into Ohio, finding markets for them there.

Their first transactions were small of necessity, but as settlement increased and the stock of the country increased, they kept equal pace, widening the field of their operations. They were alert, knew their business, dealt fairly with everybody, worked very hard, and as nearly as I can find out, they gained a pretty complete monopoly of the stock buying business in all this region; and they made money, as they deserved to do.

As early as 1835, Chicago became their principal market. They were sending so much stock there, that it was thought best for one of the brothers to locate in Chicago, in order to take better care of the business at that end of the line. Isaac had now five small children; Absalom was still a bachelor and ten years the older. These circumstances suited Absalom better for locating and taking the work in Chicago, which he did, and Isaac remained on the farm.

The differing characteristics of the men also suited them to this division of the work. If Isaac was the stronger man of the two, being possessed of somewhat more energy and courage, Absalom was cast in a little smoother mold, more diplomatic, more suave. For about five years longer, the brothers remained in partnership, prosecuting their business with great tact and energy.

If the necessary limits of this paper would permit, I would be glad to speak at length of the character of Absalom Funk. He was a man of integrity and marked ability; from first to last of the partnership, the brothers worked in perfect harmony, and there was always mutual good will. The memory of "Uncle Absalom" is dear to the Funk family, and his name is always mentioned with profound respect.

The partnership was dissolved in the year 1841. Isaac bought Absalom's share in the lands they had together acquired, and continued buying and feeding and marketing cattle and hogs and other stock as before. Instead of curtailing the business, he still increased it. His land holdings were now larger, more labor was available, and he was farming and feeding more extensively. He bought cattle far and near, sometimes going to other states for them. He fed all his own crops to stock, as well as the grain share which he received from his tenants, frequently buying the share of his tenants also. He put cattle out with other farmers to have them fed, paying so much a pound for the gain, and he bought the crops of still others and had them fed out on the farms where they were raised.

It was a common practice for him to sell his cattle or contract them a year forward, to parties in Chicago, at a stipulated price per hundred weight, dressed; then he would buy and graze and feed the cattle to fill these contracts. He went to Chicago sometimes with as many as 1,500 cattle in his drove; sometimes as many as 1,000 hogs. One winter, together with his brother, Jesse, he drove more than 6,000 hogs to Chicago. To move these large droves of stock safely and get them in market in good condition, was no boy's play. It required a high degree of skill and a most accurate and practical knowledge of the business, besides great physical strength and courage and endurance. When one of the larger herds of cattle was to be moved to market, a section of it, say 200 or 300, would be started with its proper complement of men attending. Next day another section would be mobilized and started on the road, and so on until all the herd was moving. These sections or smaller droves were kept about a day's march apart. It will be readily seen that in this manner the herd could be moved with greater safety and expedition than in a single great drove. About 14 days were required for a bunch of steers to travel to Chicago, and about three weeks from the time the first were started out, the last drove or section would get in.

Heavy rains, thunder storms, high waters, sleet storms and snows were frequent incidents of these trips. Thunder storms by night terrified the cattle in their new surroundings. It was often necessary for the herdsmen to remain in their saddles all night during the prevalence of a severe storm, in order to prevent a stampede of the cattle, or to round them up and get them in hand again in case a stampede occurred. This kind of work called for the greatest courage and the most daring equestrianship, as well as great physical endurance.

For the most part, corrals were found for the cattle, and shelter for the men of nights, but frequently all were obliged to camp in the open prairie. At such times the men had nothing but the ground for a bed, a saddle or a bag of straw for a pillow, a great-coat or blanket for cover and the starry sky or lowering clouds for a roof. Mr. Funk nearly always went with his cattle, and took his share or more than his share of the hardest, the most disagreeable and the most dangerous parts of the work.

Slaughtering facilities at Chicago were limited in those days, and these separate droves or sections of the herd were sized as nearly as practicable to a day's capacity of the slaughter-house to which the cattle were going. In this way each drove could be immediately slaughtered on its arrival, thereby preventing expensive delay and congestion of stock at Chicago. When

slaughtered, each beef was weighed separately in quarters on platform scales. To George, the oldest son, was allotted the business for several years, of taking these weights. The work would begin about 4:00 o'clock in the morning and continue day after day until late at night. The whole time required to move and slaughter one of these larger herds of cattle, straighten up all the business and get home, was from four to five weeks.

Droves of hogs were moved in about the same manner, except that it was necessary to have a sort of traveling slaughter camp along with the hog drove. A separate gang of men was needed to take charge of such heavier and fatter hogs as gave out on the way. Sometimes these would be loaded in wagons and sent forward to Chicago, the wagons returning and loading again, if necessary. Sometimes in colder weather, a good many would be slaughtered enroute and sent forward dressed.

When his sons were old enough, they shared with their father the labors and hardships as well as much of the responsibility of his great business; but for many years it all rested on his shoulders alone. I have no doubt he often saw all he was worth and a good deal more on foot moving between "Funk's Grove" and Chicago. He nearly always had big money obligations maturing.

When we consider the exigencies of such a situation, together with the uncertainties and risk of such a business as his, we may know that broad shoulders and a stout heart were needed to bear up under it all; but he had them, if ever a man had.

I do not believe that Mr. Funk had any scheme in mind when he came to Illinois, even if he had any wish, to acquire a large amount of land. He did not come to Illinois for that purpose; the stock business was the thing uppermost in his mind. The fertility and value of these prairie lands were not generally known to the first comers; indeed, several years later than the first settlement in McLean county, we find United States surveyors making such notes on their plats as this: "Level or greatly undulating prairie; may be useful some time for grazing." Such notes appear on plats or surveys made of some of the richest lands in the world, lying within two or three miles of this grove. These surveyors evidently did not suspect the matchless fertility of the lands they were surveying. All the good farm land they had ever seen in use had been cleared of timber; therefore timber land is the only good farm land; such I presume was their process of reasoning.

In the west side of the grove near the residence of Mr. Jacob Funk, may still be seen a clearing made by an early settler, who thought if one wanted a farm, one must of course, go to the woods and clear it up. Even if the prairie land was rich, the first settlers believed it would be next to impossible to live in the open bleak prairie away from the timber. But I suspect that the Funks very soon discovered the fertility and productiveness of the prairie land. They had farmed a little of it from the very first. They never cleared any timber land to farm it; and just as soon as the lands came into market, they began to buy, and to buy a good deal of it.

I think we may say that it is evident that they had been here but a very short time until they foresaw that all these lands, prairie as well as timber, would become valuable; and a new purpose was formed which, plainly stated, was to buy and hold all the land they possibly could, in and around this grove. This purpose once formed, became the controlling motive in every business transaction. For this purpose they worked and planned by day and by night; they pursued it with tremendous energy and splendid daring; they bought land right and left, but not without method, as we shall see.

The stock business now, instead of being the end or ultimate object of their ambition, became the means or instrument for accomplishing another object—the purchase of land. The stock business was to become the machine with which the money might be made to pay for land.

In 1829, they bought 1,040 acres; in 1830, 400 acres; in 1832, 400 acres; in 1834, 560 acres; in 1836, 760 acres; in 1837, 1,360 acres; in 1838, 720 acres; in 1839, 480 acres; in 1841, 40 acres.

In this year it will be remembered that the partnership with Absalom was dissolved. For that year and the five succeeding years, Mr. Funk's land purchases were small; this no doubt for two reasons—he was paying out on Absalom's half of the lands they had bought together, and these were the years covered by the period of great financial depression, commencing with the suspension of the bank of the United States in 1837 or 1838.

In 1848, he bought 320 acres; in 1849, 2,640; in 1850, 720 acres.

In this year 2,600,000 acres of land belonging to the United States and lying adjacent to the proposed route of the Illinois Central railroad were ceded to the State of Illinois, and in turn granted by the State to the Illinois Central Railroad company, in aid to the construction of their road. The grant covered the alternate sections not already patented, for about 15 miles each way from the right of way of the road. The Federal government closed its land offices until the railroad company could select its lands, or at least withdraw from sale all government lands lying within the belt of the railroad grant. Sometime in 1852, the railroad lands came into market and the government land offices were opened again. In the meantime, settlement had increased and times were growing better. The Chicago & Alton railroad was projected and partly constructed by this time.

The prospect of railroads greatly enhanced the land values on or near their lines. By this time, too, the fertility and productiveness of the prairie lands were known to all. Mr. Funk clearly saw that a period of extraordinary activity in land buying was at hand. If he would buy what he wanted and where he wanted it, he saw he must buy now; the opportunity would be passing or passed. He had actual and practical knowledge of the value and fertility of the land; he had faith in it, and faith in a great future for his state and country, and he had faith in himself.

Without wavering and without hesitation, but with magnificent courage, he made his last great plunge; and in the short space of three or four years, he bought more than 12,000 acres of land, and sent himself $80,000 in debt. I do not mean to convey the impression, nor is it to be inferred, that there was any element of recklessness in this great venture. There was none. He carefully measured the risks of the undertaking, and deliberately weighed its enormous obligations, but having reckoned well his resources, he believed he conld pay out, and he did. He met all his obligations at maturity and paid for every acre of land that he bought.

Mr. Funk's land holdings were in round numbers, 25,000 acres, all in McLean county; 20,000 being in and around this grove, in one tract or body. Nearly all of this 20,000 acres is in Funk's Grove township, but it extends somewhat into Mt. Hope and Dale also.

We do not know that any other man in the United States, has, by his own unaided efforts acquired as much land in one body, equally valuable and fertile, as there is in this "Funk's Grove" tract; in this Mr. Funk's achievement stands unique and unparalleled.

He saw all his lands enclosed and conveniently sub-divided by good fences, and otherwise sufficiently improved to be at least usable. He had on his farm at the time of his death probably $70,000 worth of live stock and other farming equipment.

Mr. Funk never engaged in any business enterprise outside of his farming and stock business, either by himself or with others, except that he was one of the organizers of the First National Bank of Bloomington, and owner of four-fifteenths of its stock. He left no debts.

He did not make a will; he had indicated to his children the lands which he desired each to have, and a division was made, strictly following his known wishes. The process of partition was very simple. Quit claim deeds were executed to each one for his portion, all the others joining. These deeds were written on blank paper by the Hon. O. T. Reeves and M. Swann, Esq.; Mr. Swann taking the acknowledgments as a justice of the peace. Thus the estate was settled without the intervention of courts, or even the aid of attorneys, except to the extent just mentioned.

It is not to gratify unseemly pride that I have thus outlined the extent and value of Mr. Funk's estate. What a man does—what he achieves—is the just measure of his character and abilities. If it is proper and laudable for me to write of his life and character, it is equally proper that I should set forth what he accomplished. I could say much more of the magnificent estate he acquired; for instance this grove has been one of the best and most valuable bodies of timber in the whole land. I have roughly estimated that there have been carried out of it, of building material, fencing, railroad ties, fuel, etc., more than $1,000,000 worth. An eastern lumber company set its plant here in the seventies, and sawed out 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 feet of the finest quality of black walnut lumber. The company paid more than $60,000 for this lumber in the tree.

I claim for Mr. Funk that he had the sagacity to forsee and measure the great value of this grove of timber. It may be justly claimed also that he saw that in all this great central Illinois belt of fine rich land, there was none richer or better or more certain to become valuable than this around Funk's Grove.

In the pursuit of his cattle business, he made frequent and extended journeys in all directions; he was familiar with other groves and other prairie lands, but he stayed with this grove and these prairies. He saw then what anyone can see now, that he could not anywhere have made a better choice.

A notable fact in connection with Mr. Funk's land purchases is that they were all made within the short period of 24 years—from 1829 to 1853. He was some years longer paying for his last purchase.

He was in no sense a speculator in lands. He bought no lands with the money made by the rise in the price of land, because he sold no land. He paid for all the lands he bought with the moderate and legitimate profits of his farming and live stock business.

A very cursory examination of the history of his land purchases reveals some remarkable and original methods. His preference at first was for the timber land; he saw that for a long time the timber would be more valuable than the prairie land, and so it was. His next preference was for those lands lying nearest the water courses, or where water could be procured most abundantly and at least expense.

He bought a great deal of land in small tracts of 40 or 80 acres. He so disposed these purchases that, with a given amount of land, he would surround sometimes a much larger amount than his purchases; for instance, he would go into a section and buy a 40 in one or two of its corners, an 80 in one side, then say an 80 in the section joining, opposite the first 80 bought. He would therefore invade several adjoining sections at a time, and by buying sometimes not more than a quarter of each, he would manage to enclose or nearly enclose with his purchases all of the balance of those sections. If we should take any given date between the years 1832 or 1833 and 1850, and plat his holdings at that time, we would find them arranged as a complete network, enclosing other large amounts of land. This was no doubt a strictly original method, and a most effective one; without which it would have been impossible for him to acquire the amount of land that he did.

Was it fair? Was it legitimate? Certainly. Any other man had a right to do the same thing, and the opportunities in this wide, wide western domain were practically unlimited.

I have been impressed for years with the thought that Isaac Funk was a most extraordinary character; I doubt if he was fully appreciated by his contemporaries. As for the present generation, I feel quite sure it has never taken the just and full measure of his powers and characteristics. To accomplish what he accomplished, in the time, in the manner, and under the conditions, required ability of the highest order. It was only 40 years—less than 41—from the time he came to Illinois to the time of his death. Lots of men have spent longer time getting ready to do something. Just picture him, if you will, in 1824 a young man standing before his rude cabin of poles and

clapboards, no other human habitation within miles of his. On this side of him the primeval forest, on that, the boundless, trackless prairie, over which swept the fierce winter blast and the fiercer autumn fires; without money, in debt. Without friends who had money; without schooling; the owner of two or three horses, a cow or two, an ax and a meagre equipment of the rudest agricultural implements. Then picture the princely estate he had acquired and the honors he had brought to his name in 1865. No ordinary powers ever carried a man over such a breach as lies between those two pictures.

Without models or leaders, he organized his great live stock business; indeed, he created it in most of its factors. He made business where there was none before. While building his own business and fortune, his efforts were of incalculable benefit to the whole community.

It would have been quite impracticable in the earlier times for the smaller farmers to get their stock and surplus grain to the then distant markets, but they found in Isaac Funk, always a ready and honorable buyer. He made a home market for much of the surplus live stock and other products of this region, and by his enterprise and his bold and extensive operations, he moved the stock of the country to the markets, at very much less expense than the generality of farmers or smaller operators could have moved it. He got surplus cattle and hogs out, and brought the money back in their place.

His enterprise stimulated stock raising and farming all about, and in a marked degree. There is no doubt that the enterprise and ability of this one man was a dominant factor in the rapid development not only in McLean county, but also of a much larger region round about it. His business, besides furnishing a market and outlet for the surplus stock of the country, furnished also paying employment to many people. There are numbers of men in McLean and other counties now owning farm homes, good ones too, who got their start and their money with which to buy land by working for Mr. Funk, feeding or driving cattle and hogs.

Everything must have its sufficient cause; nothing happens. If Isaac Funk achieved such great success in his business, we will find in his character, if we examine closely, the reasons or causes, putting it so, from which came his success. The causes were there; they had to be. We will have to content ourselves with noting a few of the more prominent characteristics of the man—those which in our judgment distinguished him from other men, and which aided him most in his career.

First, he was a powerful man physically; he was five feet ten and a half inches in height, normal weight 200 pounds, stout but never obese; finely proportioned, compactly built, black hair, inclined to curl. Roman nose, long, strong upper lip, mouth wide, closing firmly and closely in handsome lines. Complexion ruddy to dark, eyes dark brown, clear penetrating and steady, but flashing with fire and power when excited or aroused; eyes once seen not to be forgotten. Head roundish, shapely and large, but proportioned to the strong, rather short, neck.

His eyes and the whole contour of his face and every line of it, denoted native power, but these did not obliterate nor obscure the unmistakable expression of a kindly and even tender nature, which was there also. He shaved clean always, and dressed plainly; never used tobacco in any way. He was not a total abstainer from strong drink, but he very rarely made use of it. He had a keen sense of justice. He demanded and gave fair play.

He was endowed with a wonderfully clear, strong, quick-acting judgment in all matters of business; this by actual, responsible, varied, wide and continuous experience and exercise became trained to a point of astonishing accuracy. As I have just said, he created his live stock business. Having created it, he knew it. He knew his business, and that is saying much of any man; he knew he knew it, hence that magnificent confidence in himself which nerved him to undertake and carry through enterprises that would have appalled ordinary men. The people learned to know that Ike Funk, as they familiarly called him, knew his business.

Many years ago I was obliged to stop over night in Waynesville, DeWitt county. Mr. James Cook kindly entertained me for the night. During the evening we talked about Isaac Funk. Mr. Cook said: "Whenever I had any stock to sell, no matter who else wanted to buy it, I always waited for Mr. Funk to come around." "Why did you wait for Mr. Funk?" I asked. "Well, I'll tell you. We didn't always know what our stock was worth, we could not get the market reports as we do now. When Ike Funk came, we learned that he always offered us a full, fair market price for our stock, and he knew what our stock was worth just as soon as he saw it, and we always waited for him and sold to him."

In 1884 or 1885, a reunion of the Funk family was held at the residence of Mr. Isaac Funk, Jr.; Senator David Davis was an honored guest. In the afternoon, the senator having tired a little, probably, of the pastimes, was sitting on the porch apart from the rest of the company. I took a chair by him; falling into a reminiscent mood, he told me many thing about Mr. Funk. Among others this: "A good many dealers" Mr. Davis said, "when they had bought stock on short credit, that is until they could get it marketed and get home again, would propose to keep the money of their clients a short while, mentioning that they could make a good turn with it, or something like that, but Mr. Funk never did that. Just as soon as he got back from Chicago, or wherever he had been with stock, every man of whom he had bought, got his money, and they all liked that way of doing whether they said much about it or not."

Now put these three or four facts together, which I have just related; that Isaac Funk knew his business and the people believed he knew it; that he knew the value of stock of any kind at sight, and the people believed that; that he always offered a fair market price for stock, and as soon as he got home from the market, if he had bought of anybody on credit, the seller immediately and without any kind of excuse, got his money in full. Is it strange that such a man came near monopolizing the stock business of his region and time?

The truth was that Mr. Funk could buy about all the stock in the country, and he could buy it whether he had the money or not. In those days of great scarcity of money and high rates of interest, his methods and known skill gave him a signal advantage over most men. No matter how many cattle he owned at any time, it is said that he always knew every one of them. If any of his cattle were missing, he could look over his herds and give an accurate description of the missing ones. If cattle belonging to anyone else got among his herds, he would recognize them as strangers at sight.

Mr. John Pitts, the other day, related to me that one fall when their cattle were brought in from the prairie, there were three steers missing. Thinking possibly they had strayed into Mr. Funk's herds, the father sent John, who was then a small boy, over to Mr. Funk's to see if the cattle were there. Mr. Pitts said he never saw so many cattle before; Mr. Funk was riding among them, and the boy went up and told his errand. "Look around," said Mr. Funk, "if you find them, take them, but don't take any of mine." After a long search Pitts spotted one of his steers; he knew it as well as he knew the family horse or cow, but he felt a little afraid of Mr. Funk and hesitated to point out the steer, however, he mustered his courage and went and told Mr. Funk he had found one of their steers. Mr. Funk came with him, and in the midst of the big herd, they came across the steer. The moment Mr. Funk sighted it, he said: "It's not mine, take it." Another long search found the second steer. The boy was a little braver now, and he went again for Mr. Funk, and as soon as Mr. Funk saw the steer, although amongst hundreds of others, he said, "It's not mine, take it." But the third steer was never found.

Mr. Funk was not a man to be seen quietly standing by, while others passed him in the race for fortune. One season he was about ready to move a drove of 1,000 or more hogs to Chicago. Knowing of a similar drove likely soon to be moved by a party north of Lexington, he wrote the Lexington party saying that he, Mr. Funk, would not move his hogs at the same time the

other was going to Chicago, if the other would send him word when he intended to go. This was done to avoid the inconvenience that might result from getting both herds to the slaughter house at the same time. Mr. Funk received a rather curt and unsatisfactory answer something like this, that Funk could move his hogs when he wanted to, and the other party would do the same. Without further parley Mr. Funk moved his hogs when he was ready. When he reached a point one evening about five miles this side of Joliet, he learned that the Lexington party was just a day's ride ahead of him. In an instant Mr. Funk decided upon his further movements.

Both droves were on the west side of the DesPlaines river. He rested that night; in the morning threw his drove across to the east side of the river, took a picked gang of men with 300 or 400 of the lighter and longer legged hogs, drove all day, all the next night and part of the next day, arriving at Chicago and the slaughter house almost a day's drive ahead of the man who said Funk could move his hogs when he wanted to. With his 300 or 400 light hogs, he held the slaughter house until the balance of his drove came up. The other party waited as patiently as he could outside of Chicago, until Mr. Funk was through. Great battles have often been won and history made by just such strategy.

Mr. Funk made a point of being very punctual in keeping his business engagements. He borrowed much money, and he was enabled to borrow it where other men could not, by his habits of paying punctually. Hon. David Davis frequently helped him in borrowing money at the east where Mr. Davis was acquainted, and he signed as surety for him, well knowing Mr. Funk's habitual punctuality in meeting and paying his debts.

At one time $3,000 was due the Ridgely bank at Springfield on a certain day. Mr. Funk was in Chicago with a bunch of cattle which brought just about that amount. He started his son, Jacob, in the morning on a fleet horse from Chicago with the money all in gold. Jacob rode that day, most of the night, all the next day, arriving at home at midnight. He aroused George, who took another good horse, was on his way by 1:00 o'clock, breakfasted where the town of Lincoln now is, and just at noon of the day the money was due, he walked in to the bank and laid the $3,000 in gold on the counter.

I was about to say that Mr. Funk was an exceptionally industrious and energetic man. Those words applied to some of us would be very expressive, probably in many of our cases, too expressive; but they seem tame indeed and almost expressionless when applied to such a man as Isaac Funk. How will I illustrate or characterize the industry and energy of this man? From all I can learn of him, I think if we would go over to the Alton railway and stand by while one of the biggest locomotives came along, dragging a heavy train under orders to get to Bloomington quickly, without stopping at Shirley, we would see in the action of that locomotive something to remind us of the way Mr. Funk went after things. He worked like a locomotive under full head of steam, and like the locomotive, if he did not get to the place he started for by night, he went ahead all the same till he got there.

It was most fortunate for Mr. Funk that he met and married Cassandra Sharp. No narrative of his life or his successes could be true or just which did not give large credit to his capable and faithful wife. He was impetuous, quick-tempered; some times when aroused by especially provocative conduct of others, his anger would burst forth with volcanic force and suddenness. The unrestrained and untamed forces of such a nature as his, might have led him often to dangerous extremes. To his temperament, the temperament of his wife was a most happy counterpart. She was gentle, patient and even tempered always. She had great influence over Mr. Funk, to sooth, to encourage and to please him. His heart safely trusted in her. She was in sympathy with his ambitions. More quietly, but just as steadily, faithfully and effectively she toiled to accomplish their aims. She carried her part well.

I have said that Mr. Funk was quick tempered, we might say sometimes even violent tempered, but his anger always quickly spent itself. He was exceedingly ready to forgive an injury. He really loved and courted peace. He was of an affectionate nature; he loved his wife and children tenderly.

I must not forget to mention the interesting and curious fact that of all Mr. Funk's extensive business, he actually kept no accounts or books. It is almost incredible, but it is perfectly true, that he carried all his business, all its details, in his head. By what process or plan he was able to store all the details of his great business in his mind and call them forth at will when needed, I do not claim to understand or know. Probably he did not know how or by what process he did it himself; he was able to do it, and that is all that we know about it, and probably all that he knew. Many of you will be astonished when I state that in buying droves of cattle or hogs, he never took a paper and pencil in hand and calculated the weight and cost, as we do —as everybody does. By some mental process, he reached the result, the weight, cost, etc., quickly and certainly. It is a fact that he has been known, when on his drives to Chicago, to go by night and buy hogs of farmers, to be turned into his drove the next morning; and the process was just this and nothing more.

He would get down on his hands and knees while others drove the hogs from beneath a shed or from a strawstack in front of him, so that he could bring their outlines between him and the light of the horizon. As the hogs passed in line, he would count, weigh and estimate their value, and buy them on the spot, so quick and certain was his judgment of their quality and his ability to calculate their value.

Isaac Funk was a religious man. He believed in his accountability to God. He believed in keeping His commandments, and that in keeping of them there is great reward. He believed in Jesus Christ as his Savior. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal church; he joined that church organization, with his wife, in the winter of 1848, under the ministrations of Rev. John S. Barger. He attended the services of the church quite regularly, and was always its liberal supporter.

Although he had, we might say, no advantages of schooling for himself, he coveted these for his children. He spared no expense to give them the best schooling. He believed in Christian education. He gave substantial proof of this belief by subscribing $10,000 to the endowment fund of the Illinois Wesleyan university at Bloomington.

In politics, Mr. Funk was a Whig, while that party was in business. In 1840 that party elected him to the lower house of the State legislature. When the Republican party was organized, he became a member of it. In a remarkable speech delivered in Bloomington by the Hon. Owen Lovejoy, just preceding the war time, Mr. Funk was converted to abolitionism. From that time forward, he hated slavery. In 1862, he was elected to the State Senate to fill the unexpired term of General Oglesby. He was re-elected for the full term. It was during this term, in the very darkest days of the war of the rebellion, when the fate of the Union was trembling in the balance, that he made his famous speech in favor of an appropriation for what was known as the "Sanitary Commission." The opponents of the war had a majority in the senate. They were opposing every measure calculated to furnish aid and comfort to the armies of the Union.

To Mr. Funk, their conduct seemed nothing less than treason to the country and government, which he loved with all the intensity of his strongly emotional nature. He was unaccustomed to speaking in public, but there came a time, when, in his own words, he could sit in his seat no longer and see men trifling with the interests of his country. It was then he arose and hurled at the opposition that phillipic of phillipics, which will never be forgotten by those who heard it, and which is probably remembered today by more people than remember any other speech ever made in Illinois. Walking down the street a few days ago, I met one of our older prominent lawyers, a politician and widely read gentleman. It occurred to me to ask him as we met, which two speeches were, in his judgment, remembered by more people in Illinois than any other two speeches. He instantly replied, "Ike Funk's speech in the Legislature in 1863 and Lincoln's replies to Douglas in the Senatorial Campaign in '58."

Isaac Funk made a great deal of money and gathered a great deal of property. Shall we honor him and his memory because of this alone? Is it to be accounted a virtue, simply to make money and get property? No. Money may be gotten, and is often, by methods far from virtuous, but it is true that the ability to make money by fair and honest means is to be accounted honorable.

I have lived in Bloomington nearly 36 years. In all that time it has been my pleasure to talk about Isaac Funk with those who knew him and his character, and his business operations; and in all that long time, I have not heard one of all the people with whom I have talked, say that Isaac Funk ever got a dollar of them or anyone else, except by strictly fair and honorable means.

Nothing less than such a work as the creation of his great live stock business and gathering his great landed estate, would have occupied the splendid powers of this man. It was the work next to his hand; he did it heroically and on an heroic scale. His name will be remembered and honored for generations to come.

STILLMAN'S DEFEAT.

[By Frank E. Stevens.]

[In the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical society of 1901 was presented a paper by Rev. Robert W. Newlands of Stillman Valley, Ogle county, Illinois, descriptive of his discovery, near that place, of the grave in which were buried the bodies of eight or nine of Major Stillman's command, who were there slain by the Indians under Black Hawk in the memorable engagement at that spot on the 14th of May, 1832. The land upon which the grave was found was purchased for the public by the Stillman Valley Monument association; and the Forty-second Illinois Legislature appropriated the sum of $5,000 for the erection thereon of a suitable monument to commemorate the memory of those volunteers who there fell in the service of their country. The monument, well represented by accompanying cut, having been completed and placed in position, was unveiled, with impressive and appropriate ceremonies, on the 11th of June, 1902. On that occasion, among other distinguished speakers, Mr. Frank E. Stevens, author of a very able, exhaustive and finely illustrated historical work, entitled "The Black Hawk War," soon to be published, being introduced, addressed the assembled multitude as follows:]

Mr. President of the Association, Ladies and Gentlemen—Dixon's Ferry, now Dixon, Ill., at the period of the Black Hawk war, consisted of a ferry, the simple flat-bottomed skiff characteristic of those days, and a 90-foot log cabin, built in three sections, both owned by John Dixon.

The patriarchal appearance of this old pioneer had brought to him the title, "Na-chu-sa," from the Indians, meaning in the Winnebago dialect, "Long Hair White," and from the whites, "Father Dixon." By his kindness, gentleness, honesty and courage he had won the love of every person, white and red, who had ever met him, and to those in the land who had not met him, his reputation had extended, so that the mention of his name meant an overture for peace.

In the spring of 1827, his brother-in-law, O. W. Kellogg, broke a trail through the country from Peoria to Galena, to facilitate the rapidly increasing travel to the lead mines. "Kellogg's trail," as it was then called, crossed Rock river at that place, and, in 1828, when Father Dixon received the contract for carrying the mails from Peoria to Galena and Gratiot's Grove, he took with him from Peoria to Rock river a half-breed named Joseph Ogee, who established a permanent, though unlicensed, ferry. Prospective competition, or a friend, must have suggested his *laches* in this respect, for, on Dec. 7, 1829, he received from Jo Daviess county, whose jurisdiction embraced all that section of country, the statutory license to operate the same. But by 1830, the restraint of a ferryman's life had become so exceedingly irksome to one of his nomadic nature, that Father Dixon was constrained to take it off his hands, and remove his family thence, which he did, arriving there April 11, 1830.

STILLMAN VALLEY MONUMENT.—Cost $5,000; dedicated 1902.

When Ogee established his ferry he built a hut of logs unfit for habitation to any but a rover like himself. The needs of Father Dixon's family, and increasing travel, required something better, and that improvement he at once supplied by making additions, so that he soon had a comfortable house, storeroom and hotel, all in one. He, with his family of wife and five children, from that time forward entertained travelers, and traded with the Indians until the Indians were no more, and travel had, many years later, become diverted to bridges and other thoroughfares made by the new and ever multiplying settlements. He was made postmaster and from thenceforth Dixon's Ferry was of commanding prominence in Illinois travel and Illinois geography. At that period, however, Father Dixon's was the only family on Rock river above the old Black Hawk village, Saukenuk.

On his march up the river, Black Hawk camped one night near the Dixon cabin, and, with Ne-o-pope and the Prophet, ate with the family, Mrs. Dixon waiting upon them in a manner so courteous as to completely captivate Black Hawk, and command from him thereafter his highest admiration. During that stop the family, after a careful observation, estimated the number of able bodied warriors with the expedition to be 800, and that number was reported to the army which arrived there on May 12.

Under the order, of April 16, from Governor Reynolds, Major Isaiah Stillman recruited to his battalion the companies of Captain David W. Barnes and Asel F. Ball from Fulton county, and Captain Abner Eads from Peoria county, and Major David Bailey took with him from Pekin the company of Captain John G. Adams of Tazewell county, the company of Captain M. L. Covell, and that of Captain Robert McClure of McLean county, and the company of Captain I. C. Pugh of Macon county.

Leaving Pekin May 8, Bailey's battalion reached Boyd's Grove the first night out where Stillman with his three companies joined them, and all camped together for the night. The following day at Bureau creek, another detachment under Captain Bowman, which had been ranging through the country towards Dixon's Ferry, joined these forces, reporting many thefts of their horses by the Indians. At Dad Joe's Grove the combined forces camped the second night, marching the following day (the 10th) across the present county of Lee, to Dixon's Ferry where Governor Reynolds and the militia joined them on the morning of the 12th.

The first act of the governor was one of circumspection. Selecting from his ablest and most discreet officers, Capt. John Dement, Col. James T. B. Stapp, Wyat Stapp, Major Joseph M. Chadwick and Benjamin Moore, and Louis Ouilmette, a French trader, thoroughly familiar with those parts, and with Indian character, who, with others, was waiting at Dixon's Ferry, they were told that scouts had reported Indians to be scattered in search of provisions, and that it would be useless for the army to proceed at present. During that period of inaction these men were to start for Paw Paw Grove, some 40 miles to the southeast, in the present confines of Shabbona township, in DeKalb county, and there have a talk with the Pottowattamies, whose village was at that place, and assure themselves of the positive neutrality of that nation.

The prairies were covered with water, there were no roads, the day was dark and threatening, and to frustrate their mission completely, a large party of Black Hawk's band overtook them. The enemy undertook, by every art known to savage tactics, to allure the men into an ambush. To refute Black Hawk's constant protestations of peace that scouting party of his was discovered to be actually recruiting among the Pottowattamies and Winnebagoes. The attempts to decoy the messengers into the Indian camp were diplomatically avoided, and so was a pitched battle, which could only have resulted in annihilation of the whites.

After 48 hours of ceasless endeavor, without food, the party finally succeeded in reaching headquarters. By that time the forces of Stillman and Bailey were marching up the river on their ill-fated expedition.

There were at Dixon's Ferry when Governor Reynolds arrived, several prominent men from the mining country, including Col. James M. Strode, commander of the Jo Daviess county militia, James W. Stevenson, William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, Col. Henry Gratiot and Louis Ouilmette, the trader.

Col. Henry Dodge, of Michigan Territory, had organized a company to protect the frontier until he could communicate with Governor Reynolds and systematically assist the latter. James H. Gentry was captain of that company; Henry L. Dodge, son of Col. Dodge, was 1st lieutenant; Paschal Bequette, a son-in-law, was elected 2d lieutenant, while Charles Bracken was aide to the colonel. The file comprised about 50 men. *

That company of rangers, leaving Mineral Point May 9, covered the northwestern frontier until Whiteside's brigade reached Dixon's Ferry, and were camped on the north side of Rock river, not far from Black Hawk's camp, when Whitesides and his troops reached that point. There Col. Dodge was keeping a watchful eye on Black Hawk's every movement and warily awaiting the moment he could pounce down upon the old Indian if he saw fit to offer war, an emergency which the intrepid little band was fully equal to.

Henry Dodge will forever rank in history along with Anthony Wayne, William Henry Harrison, and such men, as an Indian fighter. He had met great odds before, and had never been outgeneraled or whipped. The Indians feared him from Lake Superior to Texas. He instantly saw the frightful consequences of an ill-advised expedition up Rock river and advised against it. Failure meant active coöperation with Black Hawk by the neutral and undecided Winnebagoes and Pottowattamies, and that, in turn, meant that the entire northwest frontier would be overrun with marauding bands and murderers. But the impatient troops of Stillman and Bailey were eager to fight, and would listen to no restraint. They had enlisted to kill "Injuns," and nothing but a valorous conquest would satisfy their ambition; and General Whitesides and Governor Reynolds were constrained to allow the following order to be issued:

"HEADQUARTERS, CAMP NO. 10, DIXON'S FERRY,
"12th May, 1832.

"The troops under the command of Major Stillman, including the battalions of said Major Stillman, and Major Bailey, will forthwith proceed, with four days' rations, to the head of Old Man's Creek, where it is supposed the hostile Sac Indians are assembled, for the purpose of taking all cautious measures to coerce said Indians into submission, and report themselves to this department as soon thereafter as practicable.

"By order of Brigadier Samuel Whiteside, commanding brigade of mounted volunteers.

"N. BUCKMASTER,
"Brigade Major."

Whiteside had been a famous old ranger from the year 1800. He had served through the war of 1812, and for a third of a century had rightfully been regarded the one man in Illinois best equipped to handle an Indian campaign like the present; and from the events which followed and his subsequent patriotic and heroic actions, we must conclude that he fully concurred with the views of Colonel Dodge. Then, as now, men had political power and aspirations, which in the militia could not be ignored. Writers upon this subject have so stated before, and others have told the writer that such was the case here. Furthermore, a rankling jealousy existed between Stillman and Bailey, each contending that he should be the other's superior, and allowed command of the combined troops. Governor Reynolds did his very best to

* Col. Dodge's command proceeded, May 8, by way of Apple Creek to Buffalo Grove, at which an Indian trail led to Rock river, at a point nearly opposite the mouth of the Kishwau-kee, and only a few miles from Stillman's battle ground, where the troops were encamped at that time.—Smith's History of Wisconsin. Vol. 1, p. 266.

harmonize the men by recognizing Stillman; but the rancorous hatred which existed among the troops for their rivals destroyed, in a great measure, their efficiency.

On the morning of Sunday, the 13th of May, the two battalions marched from Dixon's Ferry for Old Man's creek. Several adventurous spirits from the main army were permitted to accompany the troops, as were a few others, like Colonel Strode, who wanted to see the "fun" that was promised.

A baggage train of six wagons, drawn by oxen, and guarded by about 50 men under Captain Hackelton, of Fulton county, with the four days' rations, followed in the rear. The day was black and threatening, and before the battalions had proceeded ten miles a pelting rain compelled them to halt and camp for the night. All through the night the rain continued, holding the troops there until the morning of the 14th was well advanced, when the march was resumed. About dark of the same day "Old Man's Creek" was reached and crossed, and the troops dismounted to camp for the night. The creek was then much swollen by recent rains that formed on its south side a disagreeable swamp. The object of crossing to the north side was to avoid that morass, and also take advantage of the natural advantages which the north side afforded for protection, as well as the more solid ground for camping.

The creek was lined on both sides with tall willows, while just a little to the east the ground was covered with a growth of small black oak trees denominated generally as "scrub oak." These same scrub oak, grown to thrice the thickness of a man's body, stand to this day as they stood then; and, judging from a present day standpoint, one can easily see how a handful of resolute men could defend themselves against overwhelming odds. To those willows the horses were tied; fires were kindled; coffee pots put to boiling, and a general preparation for supper was going forward when three Indians appeared in camp bearing a white flag. They were taken in, but in the haste of supper preparations, and the absence of an interpreter, their mission if for peace, was not discovered at once. As a matter of fact, however, Black Hawk had, in his lifetime, disregarded so many treaties and flags of truce, that it is no small wonder some of the men were for despatching them on the spot. An abiding sense of his many misfeasances, no doubt, prompted him to station five other Indians on a neighboring hill some three quarters of a mile to the north, where they might watch and report the manner in which his flag was received. The presence of those five Indians on the hill unexplained, may rightfully be styled a misprision, and sufficient to set the camp into a spasm of turmoil. About 20 of Eads' men mounted their horses to charge the Indians, who, in turn, wheeled to run away. That action was taken by the excited and undisciplined troops to mean a retreat, and Eads' men immediately began firing upon their retreating foe. Other small squads joined the haphazard pursuit, in course of which two of the five Indians were killed. The camp at once became a bedlam, and while Stillman, Bailey, Adams, Eads, and other officers, tried desperately to restrain the volunteers and restore order, as well might they have commanded the rains to cease, and the sun to return for half an hour, as to have expected obedience from those raw and independent spirits. They were having the "fun" for which they enlisted. Black Hawk the while was at the mouth of the creek with half a hundred warriors, where he had been giving a dog feast to Shabbona, Waubansee, and other influential Pottowatamies, in his frantic efforts to secure reinforcements against the whites.

The interchange of shots ahead led those in the Stillman camp to believe that a general engagement was upon them, whereupon Thomas B. Reed of Eads' company, shot down, in cold blood, one of the three bearers of the white flag—an offence so dastardly as to permit of no excuse. It may be urged that the militia were frenzied by excitement, or dazed with the thought that the 800 Indian warriors were coming down upon them like an avalanche; but such was not the case. It was a part of the program of "fun" that impelled it. The confusion that followed enabled the two remaining Indians to escape and join in the massacre of the whites that soon after occurred.

Squads of two, three and more continued to leave camp to join in the chase, presenting in the twilight a thin and irregular line, without order, and without a head, until nearly four miles were covered by the stragglers. As had been adroitly arranged, no doubt, by the survivors of the party of five, the foremost of the pursuers were suddenly plunged into Black Hawk's presence behind a growth of brushwood at the mouth of the creek where that wily old savage had aranged his braves, few in numbers, but many more than the first white arrivals; and the instant the whites appeared they sent up whoops, shrieks and howls to scare almost any brave man into spasms. Dashing headlong into the advance column, or rather, squad, of the whites with the spirit and suddenness of an electric shock, the reckless volunteers then realized their awful temerity, and the futility of fighting what might be 800 warriors, known to belong to Black Hawk's command, even under careful protection and with the full strength of the battalions.

Stunned by the sudden and furious onslaught of Black Hawk, the troops wheeled to retreat, yelling as they fled, "Injuns! Injuns!" like the mad men they then truly became, that their approaching comrades might in turn retreat to safety. In no time at all the cry had reached the camp, which became as panic stricken as the returning soldiers.

At the foot of the hill on which the five Indians had first been seen, James Doty of Eads' company, was killed, and where many of the horses became mired in the mud of the creek, Gideon Munson, a government scout, was also killed. As the troops came headlong on, Captain Adams—than whom no braver man ever lived—attempted to make a stand with a handful of comrades upon the brow of the hill that lies about half a mile to the south of the creek, to cover the retreat of the fugitives. Darkness was upon them and they had no reason to believe that less than the full force of 800 Indians was upon them; yet they stood their ground to sell their lives as dearly as possible, to save those who, by the delay, might reach points of safety. The moonlight was only sufficient to confuse the panic stricken troops still more; and in that heroic fight unto death which Captain Adams and his men made, he scarcely knew whether he was fighting friend or foe. In the gloaming the fight went on, and in the darkness of the night while the scattering forces were safely fleeing on to Dixon's Ferry, Captain Adams and his little band fell one by one until the last man bit the dust, and then a scene of malignant deviltry was perpetrated that is almost incredible.

Mr. Oliver W. Hall, of Carlinville, Ills., who was present on the field the following day, wrote a brief description of it, as follows: "We were camped at Dixon's Ferry at the time of Stillman's defeat. Now Stillman had about 275 well mounted men, with baggage wagons, and he started out on his own accord, camping late in the evening on the north side of that little creek. The ford was just above where the willows stood thick on each side of the creek. While Stillman's men were cooking supper, three or four Indians on their ponies, rode up on that high hill, just north of Stillman's camp, about sundown, and five or six of Stillman's men caught their horses and ran them to where the Indians were in camp, in the timber about a mile and a half from Stillman's camp, north. The Indians killed one of our men and ran the balance of them into camp. The first that Stillman knew of any danger was when the Indians came yelling over that high hill just north of Stillman's camp, and it was a perfect stampede with Stillman's men. Some of them got their horses, but lots of them got away on foot; and after the Indians had killed 11 of our men they went back to Stillman's camp and cut the spokes out of the wagons, and poured out a barrel of whiskey. Well, we lay on our arms the next night on the south side of the creek, for we had left our tents at Dixon's Ferry, as we had to go back to meet the boat to get our rations. There were 2,500 of us, with shot guns, and rifles, and muskets, all flint-locks, and we were mounted, all but two or three companies. We picked up nine dead men as we came up from Dixon's Ferry on a forced march the morning after Stillman's defeat. The last two that we found were Major Perkins and Captain Adams, with both their heads cut off, and their heads skinned all over and left by them. We found them on that descent as you go down to the creek from the high land, about half way down, and we buried nine

men in one grave about two hundred yards southwest of those willows just below the ford and on sideling ground, not as far south as the top of the hill. We buried one young man about three-quarters of a mile north of Stillman's camp—(if true, that was James Doty,)—where he was found, and another young man about one-half a mile east of where he was found. (That was Gideon Munson.)

"Now, the road crossed the creek just east of those willows where there were a few scattering scrubby trees. The nine men were buried about 200 yards southwest of those willows, and on the west side of the road leading to Dixon's Ferry. We never knew how many Indians there were."

If this statement concerning Doty and Munson is true, then but eight men could have been buried in the common grave, because but 12 were killed, and two were buried to the south. However, the fact is, Munson was buried in this grave also. In many details Mr. Hall's account is inaccurate; but what he says of the mutilation, topography, distances, arms and the march, is correct.

The names of Captain Adams' companions are David Kreeps, Zadok Mendinall and Isaac (nicknamed "Major") Perkins, of Captain Adams' company; James Milton, of Captain Pugh's company; Tyrus M. Childs, Joseph B. Farris and Corporal Bird W. Ellis, of Captain David W. Barnes' company, and Sergeant John Walters, of Captain Ball's company. Joseph Draper, of Captain Covell's company, was also shot, and his body found five miles due south of the battlefield, on what is now known as Mrs. George F. Smith's farm, where it was buried. Young Ellis, who was but a boy in years, was able to crawl two and a half miles south of the battlefield, where his body was found beside a strapping Indian, who had demanded his life, though it was ebbing away. In that exhausted condition he fought and killed his antagonist, breathing his last soon after. Ellis was buried on the spot, now the farm of Mr. A. C. Brown.

The death of private Joseph Draper, was particularly pathetic, and is narrated in the historical records of McLean county, as follows: "In the confusion resulting from Black Hawk's attack, Draper lost his horse. A comrade, John Lundy, took Draper on his horse. While retreating they found a stray horse, which Draper insisted on mounting. It had neither saddle or bridle, but they supposed it would follow the other horses; but instead it turned and ran toward the Indians, who shot Draper. He fell from the horse, crawled off into the underbrush, where his body was found by the burial party. He had written on his canteen an account of his wounds. No copy of the writing on his canteen has been preserved." It would scarcely seem credible that a man in full possession of his faculties would remain on a horse running toward the enemy without dropping off to the shelter of the bushes and secrete his sound body, when he was able to securely secrete himself when mortally wounded. But so it must have been in that fearful panic, because his comrade, Lundy, has vouched for the first part of the story, and the man's canteen told the rest; and the statement of a dying man can not be doubted, especially when alone in the night, miles away from friends and ministering care, with the rough, raw and desolate prairie for his bed, howling wolves and Indians prowling near, and the rough winds of spring blowing his spirit into eternity.

After five miles' pursuit, the Indians abandoned it to returned to mutilate the bodies of the dead, as described by Mr. Hall; but the whites continued their flight, running, riding, yelling, crying—hopelessly crazed, until Dixon's Ferry was reached in the early hours of the morning of the 15th. Others becoming confused deflected to the south, and never stopped until the Illinois river was reached at a point near the present city of Ottawa. From there about 40 of them scattered for their homes.

It was a clear case of panic. Men were crazed. They who in a sober moment would have walked straight to death without a protest; they who would bend to no command of a superior officer; they who would not obey or follow, were driven as easily as a flock of panic stricken sheep. It has been said and written that whiskey was the cause of that unfortunate rout; but that

assertion is hopelessly improbable in the face of the fact that but two casks were taken with the baggage train to be consumed by 275 men, who lived in a whiskey drinking age, when five or ten drinks, more or less, made little difference in a daily average. Mr. John E. Bristol, of Eads' company, who at 91 is alive and hearty today, vouches for the truth of this assertion, and the other one, that but two small casks were taken along. Mr. Hall specifically states that one cask was emptied by the Indians, and Black Hawk makes the same statement. Therefore it is certain that whiskey cut no figure in the panic.

In justice to Major Stillman his version of the affair, published in the Missouri Republican of July 10, 1832, should be given. It is as follows:

"*To the Editor of the Missouri Republican.*

"GENTLEMEN—I have this day discovered in your paper of the 22d ult., an account of the engagement between the men under my command and the hostile Sac, and other Indians on Rock river. Finding that statement altogether incorrect, I take the liberty to give an outline of the transaction, which I am compelled to do in the utmost haste.

"Oh the 12th I received orders from his Excellency, John Reynolds, commander-in-chief, etc., to march immediately from Dixon's ferry to what is commonly known as "Old Man's Creek," about 30 miles distant, and coerce the said hostile Indians into subjection. We took up our march on the 13th, and on the 14th, at 2:00 o'clock, one of our spies discovered two Indians on our left. The Indians immediately fired on him, and undertook to make their escape by swimming Rock river; this, however, they did not succeed in; our spy brought his gun to bear on the forward one, who was tumbled into the river—the horse immediately turned his course and swam back, the surviving Indian being, from the unmanageable disposition of his horse, compelled to follow until he shared the fate of his companion. Both horses were brought in. We reached our camping ground on the north side of "Old Man's Creek" about 6:00 o'clock, after having used every precaution to guard against being deceived by the Indians—having kept out the most experienced spies and a very strong guard front, rear and flank, during the day. Soon after our arrival we discovered a small party of men in our advance, supposed at this time to be a part of our front guard. Lieutenant Gridley being then mounted, passed up a ravine for the purpose of ascertaining. It was soon after however, ascertained that our spies with the whole of our advanced guard had come in. Captain Covell with a party detached, followed. On the approach of Lieutenant Gridley, while rising the bluff, the Indians faced and leveled their guns. When prudence directed a return, the Indians pursued and were met by Captain Covell at nearly the same moment, when the fire was exchanged without effect.

The Indians retreated and were pursued. Three were killed and three taken, with a loss of one of our men (as supposed) Our men were all immediately formed and took their march in the direction of Sycamore creek, five miles above. After marching about three miles an Indian appeared and made signs of peace. I was informed of the fact and orders were given for a halt. Myself, together with most of the field and staff officers, advanced with Captain Eads as interpreter. We were soon informed that the Indians would surrender in case they could be treated as prisoners of war. This was promised them and they returned with the intelligence, after promising to meet us at a specified point. On arriving at that point, however, no Indians appeared to make the proposed treaty, which convinced us of treachery.

Directions were immediately given for our men to advance, while Captain Eads proceeded a few yards alone to make further discoveries. On reaching Sycamore Bluff, the Indians were discovered in martial order; their line extended a distance of nearly two miles, and under rapid march. Their signals were given for battle,—war-whoops were heard in almost every direction—their flanks extended from one creek to the other. Orders were given for a line of battle to be formed on the south side of the marsh between the two creeks, while the Indians were advancing with the utmost rapidity; their fire was tremendous, but on account of the distance, of little effect. Night was closing

upon us in the heart of an Indian country, and the only thing to brighten our prospects, the light of our guns. Both officers and men conducted themselves with prudence and deliberation, until compelled to give ground to the superior foe, when the order for a retrograde movement was given, and our men formed in Old Man's creek. Here a desperate attempt was made by the Indians to outflank us and cut off our retreat, which proved ineffectual, some clubbing with their fire-locks, others using their tomahawks and spears. A party of our men crossed the creek, and with much difficulty silenced their fire, which made a way for the retreat of our whole party, which was commenced and kept up with few exceptions, in good order.

Many of our officers and men having been in the battles of Tippecanoe, Bridgewater, Chippewa and Fort Erie, have never faced a more desperate enemy. Having had the advantage of ground, the enemy being on an eminence, operated much in our favor. In passing Old Man's creek, many of them got their guns wet and were deprived of the use of them. Our force consisted of 206 men; that of the Indians not known, but consisting of a whole hostile band. Eleven of our men were killed, five wounded, with a loss of 34 to the enemy. From report, their encampment consisted of 160 lodges. Our men mostly arrived at Dixon's Ferry about 3:00 a. m., and it is to be hoped that in a short time the number of troops stationed at that point and elsewhere will be able to bring them into subjection, and relieve our frontier from a much dreaded foe.

I am, with much respect, your obedient servant,

I. STILLMAN,

Brigadier General Fifth Brigade, Illinois Militia and Acting Major Northern Illinois Volunteers.

IN CAMP, 19th June, 1832.

It can not be said of that explanation that it offered any extenuating circumstances for that inglorious retreat, or the abandonment by Stillman's men of gallant Captain Adams and his men to fight it out alone and die. The straggling arrival of the panic-stricken troops into camp at Dixon's Ferry, from 3:00 o'clock to daylight of the morning of May 15, threw Whiteside's camp into confusion. The force of Dodge's warning had now a most depressing and disastrous effect on the army, and the conduct of the men was most humiliating to Governor Reynolds. With one accord the officers flocked to his tent to hear the exaggerated accounts of the runaways, and plan a possible maneuver to counteract the fleeting fortunes of their volunteer arms.

Instead of inspiring the troops with resolution to revenge their fallen comrades, disaffection spread and demands arose from all sides to be discharged from a campaign which then promised nothing but trouble and a long absence from home. The Governor, foreseeing the plight likely to visit him, at once, by the light of a solitary candle, wrote out a call for 2,000 more volunteers, to rendezvous, respectively, at Beardstown, on the 3d of June, and Hennepin, on the 10th of the same month, as follows:

DIXON'S FERRY, ON ROCK RIVER,
May 15, 1832.

It becomes my duty to again call on you for your services in defense of your country. The State is not only invaded by the hostile Indians, but many of our citizens have been slain in battle. A detachment of mounted volunteers, about 275 in number, commanded by Major Stillman, were overpowered by hostile Indians on Sycamore creek, distant from this place about 30 miles, and a considerable number killed. This is an act of hostility which can not be misconstrued. I am of the opinion that the Pottawottomies and Winnebagoes have joined the Sacs, and all may be considered as waging war against the United States. To subdue these Indians and drive them out of the State, it will require a force of at least 2,000 mounted volunteers, in addition to troops already in the field. I have made the necessary requisition of proper officers for the above number, and have no doubt that the citizen sol-

diers of the State will obey the call of their country. They will meet at Hennepin, on the Illinois river, in companies of 50 men each, on the 10th of June next, to be organized into brigades.

JOHN REYNOLDS,
Commander in Chief.

John Ewing of Franklin county, and John A. Wakefield and Robert Blackwell of Fayette county, were the trusted messengers selected to carry this call over the state, and faithfully and quickly they executed their mission.

At the same time Colonel James M. Strode, colonel and commander of the Jo Daviess county militia, was empowered and requested to organize his county for immediate action.

Governor Reynolds also sent word of the defeat to General Dodge at the latter's camp, on the north side of the river, some distance above, with the request that he forthwith take measures to protect the frontier of Michigan Territory (now Wisconsin), which he did effectually and with his characteristic alacrity.

Major Horine was dispatched to St. Louis with a message to Col. March, who was at that place to forward supplies for the new levy to Hennepin. With his conspicuous vigor the order was executed, but not by leaving the provisions at Hennepin. Fort Wilbourn, so-called from Captain John S. Wilbourn of the militia from Morgan county, was a point on the south bank of the Illinois river, about midway between the present cities of Peru and La Salle. It was nearer the seat of action at Dixon's Ferry, and was accordingly chosen by Colonel March. Thither the troops marched and, as Albert Sidney Johnston wrote in his journal on June 12: "General and staff arrived at this place this evening. The Illinois volunteers having arrived here in great numbers, the general decided upon organizing them at this point, supplies for the troops having been placed in depot at this place, and the route to Dixon's quite as good, and as near, as the mouth of Fox river."

That explains the erection of this base, and in the same connection it may be said that the old army trail subsequently known as the "Peru road," was the one traveled by Abraham Lincoln on his return home, via Peoria, and was the route traversed by Colonel John Dement, receiver of the Dixon land office subsequently, when he carried the public moneys from Dixon to Peru to be shipped by boat to St. Louis, the industrial and financial center of the times.

Another message was sent to General Atkinson, not yet arrived from Fort Armstrong, and finally Major Adams was despatched to Quincy to procure corn for the horses. By daylight the various expresses were hurrying on their respective ways over the State. With the abandonment of the baggage and supplies down the river, the improvidence of the troops with the provisions brought along, and the destruction and confiscation of Stillman's by Black Hawk, there was imminent danger of a famine; but Mr. Dixon came to the rescue by slaughtering his oxen, milch cows and young stock, which the troops devoured without bread or salt. After a hasty breakfast a general march for the battlefield to bury the dead was begun, and finished by evening.

The sight of the mangled remains of their comrades did not inspire the majority of the men with a wish to prolong their service. Dissatisfaction, much of it unexplained, prevailed, and nothing but a discharge from further service would be heard. Gathering the fragments of the mutilated bodies together they buried Captain Adams and his faithful band that evening, the 15th. The dismantled baggage wagons, destroyed saddlebags dead horses, destroyed provisions and the emptied whisky keg, said by Black Hawk to have been emptied by his direction, were found upon the field. The army camped that night upon the south bank of the creek, with little to disturb them save the casual firing of small arms in the distance which might have indicated the presence of the enemy; but Major Henry and his battalion of spies who were detached to scour the country and test the presence of the Indians, returned to the camp at an early hour of the morning without discovering a sign of them.

On the morning of the 16th the army began its return march for Dixon's Ferry for provisions, presuming, of course, that General Atkinson's forces would be there against their arrival in the evening. But the progress of the keel boats up the river had necessarily been very slow, and when the army reached Dixon's Ferry the regulars had not yet returned. That caused a storm of protests to reach the ears of the officers which demanded decisive action. The unplanted crops, the futility of the enterprise, and innumerable other remonstrances were urged for disbanding, some great and some small. The "fun" of an Indian campaign had proved too serious for the younger generation.

In that dreadful state of insubordination the Governor held the troops until the morning of the 17th, when by a fervid appeal to the patriotism of the men to continue their service to protect the exposed frontier until the new levy arrived, the remaining troops of Stillman and Bailey's battalions, recovering their lost senses, immediately consented, whereupon the Fifth Regiment was organized as follows: Col., James Johnson; Lieut. Col., Isaiah Stillman; Maj., David Bailey; Adjt., James W. Crain; Quartermaster, Hugh Woodrow; Paymaster, David C. Alexander; Surgeon, Samuel Pillsbury; Sergt. Maj., Daniel McCall; Q. M. Sergt., Joshua C. Morgan. Delaying for a few hours the decision which must inevitably have come in favor of the men, hopeful that General Atkinson would arrive, Governor Reynolds was happily relieved by the arrival of the general and his regulars, with Major Long's foot battalion, about noon, bringing ample stores, which momentarily quieted the clamor of the volunteers.

With the reinforcements came Captain W. S. Harney and Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, each of whom had been absent on furlough, but who, on the crossing of Black Hawk into Illinois, had returned to his regiment at Fort Armstrong in time to accompany the same up the river.

To still more complicate the embarrassing situation, rumors from the mining country were received to the effect that Colonel Strode was meeting serious opposition to his efforts for enlistment. A personal dislike, more than anything else, brought about opposition to his appeal for recruits, and, failing at every point, he had declared martial law over the district. To remove that feeling and quiet, if possible, the spirit of hostility to Strode, General Atkinson despatched, among others of his officers, Captain Harney and Lieutenant Jefferson Davis to Galena, where, with the cooperation of Captain H. Hezekiah Gear, a man of strong personality, great force of character and of commanding influence with the sturdy miners, the bungling tactics of Strode were improved, and the ruffled tempers of the miners smoothed and softened into eager enlistment, and faithful service through the remainder of the campaign followed.

Colonel Strode was a man of marked ability as a lawyer, but he had no faculty for removing opposition to his domineering spirit save by brute force, and that method in a mining camp was not calculated to effect conciliation."

THE SITE OF FORT CRÉVECOEUR.

[By Ada Greenwood MacLaughlin, of the Peoria Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.]

One of the most interesting periods of Illinois history is that of French discovery, exploration and settlement. While Father Marquette, in 1673, made a voyage down the Mississippi river, which he reached by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and then returned to Green Bay by way of ascending the Illinois, no attempt was made to possess or colonize the country thus visited. That was left for that wonderful man, the intrepid chevalier, Robert Cavelier, the Sieur de La Salle, whose imagination was fired by the scanty account of a vast fertile country, whose only inhabitants were Indians.

La Salle, who had previously explored the Ohio, heard the news, and went to Count Frontenac, then governor of Canada, who was his friend. He unfolded to him his vast scheme of taking possession of this unknown country, with the great river, which he imagined emptied into the Gulf of California, and thus furnished a short route to the Pacific ocean and the commerce of the east. In this plan he was warmly seconded, because, if successful, Frontenac would gain more than La Salle, and Louis XIV more than Frontenac. Backed by Frontenac, he easily secured the necessary endorsements at court, was ennobled, and enabled to begin operations. All went well for a year or two. Fort Frontenac was rebuilt. The seigniory was divided among tenants, and affairs were in profitable progress, but prosperity did not remain. La Salle proceeded along the lakes building forts, conciliating Indians and buying furs, whilst his agents at Frontenac robbed him. But at last, after many disheartening delays and disappointments, in December, 1679, he reached the Illinois river with his party, consisting of 30 laborers, three priests, and Henry de Tonty. On their way down the river they found a deserted Indian village of 480 cabins. The Indians were away on their winter hunt and the French, being on the verge of starvation, helped themselves to what corn they needed, and continued their journey. This village is supposed to have been near Fort St. Louis, now known as Starved Rock, La Salle county, Illinois.

January 4, 1680, LaSalle entered Peoria lake. On the morning of the 5th he landed at the Indian village, which was where the river narrows, below the lake, and assured the Indians of his peaceable intentions. He paid for the corn with axes and other implements, for this camp held part of the tribe whose village was near Starved Rock. They wished the French to settle with them. LaSalle promised them protection if they would consent to his building a fort and also to furnish arms and ammunition, provided they did not use them against any allies of the French; that he could not stay himself but would send other Frenchmen who would protect them from the attacks of all their enemies. These cordial relations were soon disturbed by a nocturnal visit to the Indians of a Miami chief, who was sent and instructed by other Frenchmen to say that LaSalle was a friend to the Iroquois (who were the ancient and fierce enemies of the Illinois Indians); that the French had a fort in their country, and would unite with the Iroquois to exterminate them entirely and to believe nothing told them. This tale so alarmed the Indians that they decided not to assist LaSalle in his project of reaching the Mississippi, but contradicted their former favorable reports, and said infinite numbers of barbarous nations inhabited the river banks, and would overwhelm the French, and the river was full of monsters, crocodiles and serpents, and the lower part of the stream was obstructed by rocks and precipices, and all ended in a gulf where the river was lost underground. Some of LaSalle's men deserted before such difficulties, and he decided to keep the rest away from the Indians for fear of losing more. He told them it was necessary to build a fort to protect them from the Indians. So all went to work with a good grace, building a fort which was called Crèvecoeur.

It is well known with what fortitude LaSalle met the news of all the disasters which had befallen his enterprises during his absence in the Illinois country. The Griffin was the first vessel built upon the Great Lakes. It was a bark of 40 tons burden, and received its curious name from the armorial bearings of Count Frontenac. LaSalle lost, not only the boat, but its valuable cargo of furs, which he depended upon for his expenses. A second vessel, with merchandise from France, was wrecked while ascending the St. Lawrence. His creditors had seized all his effects, even his Fort Frontenac and his seigniory. He made the trip of 400 leagues to Fort Frontenac from Fort Crèvecœur, and such was his determination that within a week of his arrival he had secured credit and equipment for a second expedition, and started again to carry out his design of reaching the Mississippi.

"On the 22d of July, two voyagers, Messier and Laurent, came to him with a letter from Tonti, who wrote that soon after LaSalle's departure, nearly all the men had deserted, after destroying Fort Crèvecœur, plundering the magazine and throwing into the river all the arms, goods and stores which they could not carry off."—(Parkman.) Only 15 men had been left with Tonti. On receipt of LaSalle's message to fortify Starved Rock, he had taken a few

men and gone up there. During his absence, all but three men and the priests deserted. They immediately carried the news to Tonti, who returned and recovered the forge and such tools as he could from the river. LaSalle hastened on his way to relieve Tonty, who, as he expresses it, was thrown on the charity of Indians at their village at the Rock.

When LaSalle reached there, he was astonished to find the Iroquois had left the large Illinois village a smoking ruin, its plain strewn with corpses, upon which wild animals were feasting. He searched these horrible remains to see if any Frenchmen were there, and was relieved to find no traces of Tonty or his companions. With all haste possible he pursued his way down the river, through Peoria lake, past Fort Crèvecœur, until he reached the Mississippi, searching for Tonty. He left three of his men near the ruined village with his provisions and baggage, while he took the four remaining men, each armed with two guns, a pistol and a sword. This was in the autumn of 1680.

This last disaster again delayed the plans of LaSalle, and it was not until December, 1681, that his final journey down the Illinois was begun. He passed several weeks in the Illinois valley, and at last reached his goal, the mouth of the Mississippi, in April, 1682. The return was made late in the same summer.

The historians of these various expeditions are as follows: I. First—LaSalle's own letter in the "Margry Documents," and another account attributed to him, also in "Margry." Second—Hennepin, in his "Discovery of Louisiana," translated by John Gilmary Shea. Third—Tonty's letter in the Margry. Fourth—LeClerc's "Establishment of the Faith," in which he gives a narrative derived from Father Membre's diary, Shea's translation. II. LaSalle's letter in "Margry." III. First—LaSalle's letter. Second—Tonti's memoir. Third—A letter of Father Membre to his superior. Fourth—A letter by Metairie, the notary of the expedition. Fifth—The "Journal of Joutel," all of which are in "Margry."

There are other translations of various accounts, which have been made by B. F. French in his "Historical Collections of Louisiana," but they are not nearly so full and complete as the "Margry Documents," so they have been omitted.

In the search for the truth as to the site of Fort Crèvecoeur, it is, perhaps, well to state just here, that it has been pursued for over five years, and an examination has been made of all the Illinois histories in my own private library, and the public library of Peoria; all the translations of French writers touching the subject in the same libraries; and the "Margry Documents," also accessible in the Peoria library. Many other books have been examined on this point with the view of making this collection of opinions as complete as possible, and the search has not omitted Gravier, and Marest, early missionaries stationed at Peoria, Father Charlevoix, who made a tour of the French missions in 1721, nor the "Jesuit Relations," a collection of letters and documents of that order. Every opinion that could bear on the point in question is hereby offered.

The translations from Margry are my own, except where otherwise noted.

There has been much said, both pro and con, about plagiarism in regard to Hennepin's "Description of Louisiana." The eminent historian, John Gilmary Shea, who has given the fine and accurate translation of Hennepin and Le Clerc calls LaSalle the plagiarist on subjects common to both writers, while Pierre Margry returns the compliment by insisting that Hennepin is the culprit. With all due modesty, it appears the solution is this: LaSalle never made any voyage of discovery in which he did not include several priests in his company, ostensibly to carry the faith to the savages, but in reality to record the events of the journey. It was part of Hennepin's business to keep a diary which he could use himself in reporting to his superior, and LaSalle could also use if he wished. The Chevalier was a busy man, the spirit of activity and enterprise personified, and it may be, referred to the good father's notes to save time. Moreover, Hennepin wrote to LaSalle an account of his adventures on the Mississippi and among the Sioux, whither LaSalle

had sent him, and it is incorporated in LaSalle's letter in Margry. This fact bears out my supposition that LaSalle did no more than he had a perfect right to do.

Some have expressed a doubt as to the authenticity of the Margry documents. Monsieur Pierre Margry was for many years a clerk in the French colonial office, and his position gave him access to the colonial archives, which had been so jealously withheld from American writers, as well as the world in general. M. Margry made a correct and literal copy of these records with a list of their whereabouts, and such other information as he could obtain. Mr. Shea says in his comparison of Hennepin and LaSalle: "If one is not trustworthy, the other is not." See page 43, Shea's sketch of Hennepin.

Hennepin's own map, published in his first book, 1683, accompanies Shea's translation, and in it Fort Crèvecoeur is located on the east side of the river, about half way between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river, via the Illinois route. No other fort in Illinois is given.

Franquelin was a young engineer who held the post of hydrographer to the king at Quebec, in which Joliet succeeded him. A very elaborately executed map, six feet long and four and a half feet wide, was made by him to show the French possessions in America. It shows the fort as located according to the description given by LaSalle and Hennepin, and is supposed to have been made under the direction of LaSalle, as it particularly exhibits his colonies in Illinois. In Vol. LXIII of the "Jesuit Relations" is a beautiful copy of this map.

The first visit of LaSalle to the Illinois country was begun in the autumn of 1679. By the 1st of January, 1680, he was descending the beautiful river which always commanded the most enthusiastic praise from all the chroniclers of those early days. Jan. 4 the party entered the lake and (see Margny, Vol. II, p. 37), "toward evening perceived smoke while traversing the little lake, and the next day, about nine in the morning, we found, on both sides of the river, a quantity of canoes, and saw the great smoke which arose from 80 cabins full of Indians, whom we discovered first. They did not see us until we had doubled a point, behind which they were camped a half gun shot from the shore." (LaSalle's account.)

Henri de Tonty, whose name and fame are second only to the Sieur de LaSalle, never wasted any words in his writing, and a few lines usually sufficed him. In Margry, Vol. I, p. 582, he says: "Having seen smoke, M. de LaSalle put the canoes in battle array. Upon doubling a point we saw a little hunting village. The Indians were greatly alarmed, thinking we were Iroquois. The women and children fled to the woods, but when they found we were French, they showed the calumet at a distance. * * * * The day we arrived, which was the 4th of January, 1680, the river began to freeze * * * * The 15th, he (LaSalle) found a place suitable to build a bark of 40 tons, to descend to the Mississippi, or river Colbert. He built a fort which was named Crèvecoeur, and worked on a boat of 40 tons. Sometime afterward the Rev. Father Louis Hennepin, with Michel and Picard started to the country of the Sioux. M. de LaSalle decided to make the trip of 400 leagues to Fort Frontenac by land (on foot). He started March 10 with six men, leaving me as commandant in his place."

Shea's translation of 1881, of Le Clerc's Establishment of the Faith, vol. 2, p. 118, has the following brief reference to the position of the Illinois camp and also Crèvecoeur. Le Clerc was not with La Salle's party on this expedition, and his description is compiled from a diary kept by his cousin, Father Membré. It says:—"They left it (the Illinois village near Starved Rock) on the 1st of January, 1680, and by the 4th were 30 leagues lower down amid the camp of the Illinois. They were encamped on both sides of the river, which is very narrow there, but very near there forms a lake about seven leagues long and one wide, called Pimiteoui, meaning in their language, that there are plenty of fat beasts in that spot." On page 123, he says:—"January 14, 1680, all repaired to a little eminence, a pretty strong position, near the Illinois camp, where the Sieur de La Salle immediately set to work to build a fort which he called Crèvecoeur."

The following extract is from Hennepin's "Description of Louisiana," 1683, ps. 176, 7, 8. John Gilmary Shea, 1880:—"A great thaw having set in on the 13th of January, and rendered the river free below the village, the Sieur de La Salle begged me to accompany him, and we proceeded with one of our canoes to the place which we were going to select to work at this little fort. It was a little mound, (?) distant about 200 paces from the bank of the river, which in the season of the rains, extends to the foot of it; two broad, deep ravines protected two other sides and a part of the fourth, which was completely entrenched by a ditch which united the two ravines. The exterior slope, which served as a counterscarp, was fortified. We made chevaux-de-frise, and cut this eminence down steep at all sides, and the earth was supported as much as was necessary with strong pieces of timber, with thick planks, and for fear of any surprise, we planted a stockade around, the timbers of which were 25 feet long and a foot thick. The summit of the mound was left in its natural figure, which formed an irregular square, and we contented ourselves with putting on the edge a good parapet of earth, capable of covering all our forces, whose barracks were placed in two angles of this fort, in order that they might be always ready in case of attack. Father Gabriel Zenoble and I lodged in a cabin covered with boards, which we adjusted with the help of our workmen, and in which we retired after work, and where all our people came for morning and evening prayers, and when, being unable any longer to say mass, the wine which we had made from the large grapes of the country had just failed us, we contented ourselves with singing vespers on holidays and Sundays, and preaching after morning prayers. The forge was set up along the curtain which faced the wood. The Sieur de La Salle posted himself in the middle with the Sieur de Tonty, and wood was cut down to make charcoal for the blacksmith."

In Shea's book of 1880 in which he apologizes for his former criticisms of Hennepin, and asks for a rehearing of the case, is the following note on p. 175: "It is commonly supposed that LaSalle, dejected at the loss of the Griffin, and his increasing difficulties, called this fort "Crève Coeur," broken heart, on that account. The Tonty of 1697 so asserts; but at a moment when LaSalle sought to encourage his men he would not be likely to do this. As Louis XIV had recently demolished Fort Crève Coeur, a stronghold in the Netherlands, near Bois-le-Duc, captured by him in 1672 [Zedler's Universal Lexicon, XI pp. 162-3] the name may have been a compliment to that monarch, and this would explain the omission of the name in Nouvelle Decouverte, published in Holland. "Parkman's Discovery," p. 168, says that the site of the fort is still recognizable a little below Peoria."

An account in Margry is identical, or very nearly so, with Hennepin's, and is attributed to LaSalle, but because of the great similarity, it is not necessary to give it.

In Margry, volume 2, pp. 48-9, a letter, signed LaSalle, says: "All resolved with a good grace, and we repaired January 15 in the evening, to that spot which I had selected, unexpectedly and quite apropos. A great thaw had come and rendered the river free down from Pimiteoui. It is a little hillock, distant three arpents from the bank of the river. In the season of the rains the river approaches the foot of the hill. Two ravines, large and deep, shut in two other sides, and half the fourth, which I finished enclosing by a ditch which joined the two ravines. I made a border to the other side of the ravines with good chevaux-de-frise, made steep the declivity of the hillock all around, etc. * * * I left the figure of a square top, which was irregular," etc., etc.

The following extracts from Margy are given to show the extent of the lake, which is that part of the river designated Pimiteoui by all these writers, and its relative position to the fort. The extracts already given show indirectly that LaSalle went down the river to reach his fort, but the following are stronger and direct.

In the same letter of LaSalle just quoted, is found the following on p. 55, Margry, Vol. 2: "In the meantime, the winter was very much longer than ordinary, and the ice prevented communication with the village where the Indians had corn in cache; provisions began to fail those who worked at the fort. I

determined to go away to find means to provide for them. I embarked with six Frenchmen and two canoes, the river being open in front of the fort. But we had not gone an hour until we found ice. I believed the lack of the current, and the place, was the cause of the ice remaining so long, and did not want to quit my canoes. I intended to send them back to the fort laden with corn, when I arrived at the Indian village. I had hoped to my people that although the end of the lake was frozen, the river would have rotten ice and we might have a free passage. We made two sleds, and dragged our equipage and canoes upon them, and drew them to the end of the lake, which is seven or eight leagues long." (LaSalle.)

In Margry, Vol. 1, p. 488, is the following reference of LaSalle to the same event, which was the beginning of the toilsome journey to Fort Frontenac: "The current being quite rapid, rendered the river free from ice below the fort. But after a league of navigation, and at the entrance of an enlargement, where there is a lake eight leagues long, which forms the river, they found ice. The Sieur de LaSalle, who did not wish to abandon his canoes, because he intended to send them back to the fort laden with Indian corn, told his men that at the end of the lake the current would melt or break up the ice, and open a passage for them. So they determined to make two sledges, upon which they might place their canoes, and all their baggage, and draw them on the snow to the end of the lake."

Upon LaSalle's return in the fall he expected to finish his boat and pursue his journey down the Mississippi. After finding the terrible ruin and devastation of the great Illinois town, La Vantum, he made a rapid trip down the Illinois, searching for Tonty, and said, on p. 133, Vol. 2, Margry: "On arriving at Pimiteoui, or Crevecoeur, were found the remains of the destruction by the deserters, etc."

In a general description of the river, given by LaSalle, volume II, p. 247, is the following: "But at different places, as at Pimiteoui, a league east of Creve Coeur, and two or three other places below, and in many places where the two high grounds skirt it, at about half a league apart, etc."

These quotations just given, from the letters of LaSalle and Tonti, have not, to my knowledge, been literally translated before, but connected narratives, derived from them, have been published by Parkman and Mason. The "Margry Documents" have been examined also for indirect references to Creve Coeur and Pimiteoui, and the following are pertinent.

LaSalle in Margry, volume II, p. 169, said: "The 10th of January (1682) we lost track of some of our people, and M. de Tonty went in search. They found one, and had news the two others were going to join me at the river Miami.

"The 11th all joined us, and as their comrades were expected to arrive at once, we marched a little journey, and left instructions for the others, and provisions, in order for them to come to join us. At length, everybody having assembled, and navigation being open at the end of the little lake Pimiteoui, we continued our journey in canoes to the river Colbert."

In Margry, volume I, p. 593, is Tonti's account of the trip, of 1682: "M. de LaSalle joined me the 14th of January, and continued the sledging, in which way we arrived at the Illinois river. I found one party of our hunters had lost track of the French. Upon this, I made search, because there were eight men I had sent hunting, and when they were found, they came to join us. This increased our numbers, so that then we had 23 French and 18 Indians, Mahingans, or Abenakis, and Sokokis, 10 of whom were women who had with them three little children."

* * * * * * *

p. 595, "Upon arriving at Fort Creve Coeur we found navigation. And as several of our Indians were obliged to make several canoes of the bark of the elm, on that account we did not reach the Mississippi until February 6. It was given the name of Colbert by M. de LaSalle. While our Indians were busy making their canoes, provisions failed us. I was obliged to put a line

in the waters to fish with feathers. I caught a fish of extraordinary size. It was sufficient to make soup for 22 men." Signed DeTonty, Quebec, le 14 November, 1684.

In Margry, volume II, p. 206–7, is the following letter of Father Membré to his superior, dated "De la riviere de Mississippi, le 3 Juin, 1682":

"Your reverence knows the motives which led me to return to the Miamis to accompany M. de LaSalle in his discovery to the sea, and why I am here at present. Since hearing of his (expected) arrival there, we set out with M. de Tonty, some days before M. de LaSalle, who joined us at Chicago, where another band of his men also joined us. In such a manner all assembled, at the beginning of January, 1682. In the place where the Chicago runs into the river of the Illinois, it was frozen over, as well as the route by which we had come. So we drew our canoes and other equipage as far as the Illinois village (La Vantum, at Starved Rock). No one was there. They had gone to winter elsewhere, at a place 30 leagues lower down, at the foot of Lake Pimedy (Pimiteoui). There we found navigation open, and we descended the river in canoes to the Mississippi river. There we remained some days, kept back by the ice which came from above. We set out and visited a village abandoned by the Illinois. M. de LaSalle left for the one and the other the signs of his coming in peace and the signs of the route. This we followed more than 100 leagues on the river without seeing a person."

In Margry, volume II, p. 187, is a letter of Jacques de la Metairie, notary, dated 9th Avril, 1682, from which the following is taken. It may also be found in French's Louisiana, volume I, p. 45. "The 27 December, 1681, M. de LaSalle started on foot to join M. de Tonty, who had, with the men and all the equipage, put on before. He joined them at 40 leagues at the Miami. There the ice made it necessary to stop at the bank of the river Chicago, near the Maskouten. The ice became stronger, so the porters were able to draw all the baggage, the canoes and a Frenchman who was hurt all along the Illinois, a distance of 66 leagues. At length all the French had assembled the 25th of January, 1682, at Pimiteoui. From there the river had no more ice, except floating, and we went our way to the Colbert."

The full and unabridged text of Joutels' Journal is in Vol. III, Margry. The following extract begins page 473, and makes it plain where the channel of Le Deux Mamelles is and its relative position to Lake Peoria:

"The 9th, advancing continually, we arrived at a lake of about a half a league, where the man Coulture had told us at the Arkansas it would be necessary to hold to the left. This we did, but a little wrongfully. In fact we got into a river which reached to the left, and we followed it. But when we had gone a little way within I saw we were not following the direction of the outlet we intended to take. I told M. Cavelier several times it was not the river we should be in. Meanwhile we did not leave it to go forward, considering that M. Cavelier thought it above as Coulture had said. We ascended, therefore, that river about a league and a half. But as far as we could see the water diminished so much we had trouble to float our canoes, so that we were compelled to return to that place below, that they called a lake. There one of our Indians taking his bow and quiver followed along the bank looking for the outlet and the current of the known river. On his return he marked his way by which we followed the lake. The next day, the 10th of September, we started. We intended to take the other side of said lake, so we would not again be deceived, not expecting to be able, after we had advanced, to reach the known river, of the high background, and whose islands formed the entrance. Strength was given to retrace our course and search for the channel of the known river which we found at the left. That channel bears the name of deaux Mamelles, or two mountains. They are two little hills separate and round. The name was given by the voyageurs, or men of the country. We found and saw several encampments about the said lake where the Indians had camped, I was informed, in succession when they came to fish at certain seasons of the year, when hunting animals, was not good. They smoked the fish to carry to their village; for these people have the season for every kind of hunting and fishing.

We continued our route, having discovered the channel of our river, and found the usual benefits almost everywhere, with much game of different kinds. There were swans, bustards, cranes, geese, ducks, teal, and other kinds, in the same abundance as the day. We continued traveling and made the portage. The Frenchman, whom we found with the Arkansas, had said when we reached a certain lake we would be 30 leagues from the Illinois village. That was why we hoped to be more advanced. But Monday, the 11th of September, we arrived at another lake, which is about the breadth of the first, but is much longer, being about seven or eight leagues long, and is called Pimiteoui. The place in the vicinity of the latter is a little more covered around than the former lake. We found, also, many more encampments, and there were [illegible] remains of places where the Indians had camped. Hunting had diminished greatly on account of the quantity of Indians who had come. Nevertheless, we took a step to kill two buffaloes, which we took to the fort of the Illinois, and dried a part."

This narrative continues to give full particulars of the remainder of the trip up to Fort St. Louis (Starved Rock) where Joutel arrived September 14 at 2 p. m. Joutel's journal describes the journey of LaSalle's expedition which ended in Texas, instead of entering the Mississippi, gives an account of the death of the heroic leader, and the subsequent efforts of his faithful adherents to reach France by way of the Mississippi and the Illinois.

The translations given so far comprise all the published relations of writers who may be supposed to have seen Fort Crevecoeur and left a reliable record. Baron La Hontan does, indeed, relate that in April, 1688, he arrived at Fort Crevecoeur and was "received with all imaginable civility by Monsieur de Tonty," and places the fort in his map on the west side of the river. But for more than 50 years La Hontan has been "placed with that amiable class of writers who tell the truth by accident and fiction by inclination." (See B. F. French in Louisiana, volume IV, p. 15.) Moreover, Tonty was at that time absent in the south, whither he had gone, hoping to find and succor La Salle's infant colony in Texas, after hearing of the great leader's death. See also Kingsford's Canada, II, pp. 30-48, note, for La Hontan's unreliability.)

Eighteen years after LaSalle's visit to this country, an Englishman, Dr. Coxe, physician to the queen of Charles II, got up an expedition to the Illinois. In his memoirs, published in 1722 by his son, is the following in French's Louisiana, volume II, p. 231, Coxe's Carolana: "Many rivers run into it (the Illinois), and it forms two or three lakes, but one mightily extolled, called Pimitoui, which is 20 miles long and three broad; it affords great quantities of good fish, and the country round about it abounds with game, both fowl and beasts. Besides, the Illinoueks are the nation's Perouaria, the great nation Cascasquia, and Caracantanon, and on the northern branch inhabit part of the nation of the Mascoutens.

"On the southeast bank of this river, Monsieur de la Salle erected a fort in the year 1680, which he named Crevecoeur, from the grief which seized him on the loss of one of his chief trading barks, richly laden, and the mutiny and villainous intrigues of some of his company, who first attempted to poison and afterwards deserted him. This fort stands half way between the bay of Mexico and Canada."

B. F. French's "Louisiana," vol. 4, 1852, p. 36, says: "Disheartened by the desertion and disaffection of his men, and by the want of all things for his vessel, he began the erection of Fort Crevecoeur and of a vessel near the Illinois camp, below Lake Peoria."

Parkman in his "Discovery of the Great West," 1869, p. 157-158, gives a full description of Fort Crevecoeur, in which he follows the narratives already quoted of LaSalle and Hennepin, and adds, as cited by Sues in his note above, "the spot may still be seen a little below Peoria."

Parkman is recognized as good authority, and states that after he had made his researches, he made a trip following the route taken by this party of LaSalle's, and from their account was enabled to identify the places they

describe. He mentions particularly Starved Rock as the site of Fort St. Louis, Utica of the great Illinois town, La Vantum, and that the site of Crevècoeur was still recognizable a little below Peoria.

Edward G. Mason, in chapters from "Illinois History," 1901, p. 65, says: "The spot which La Salle had chosen was on the left bank of the Illinois river, about two and a half miles below its exit from Primiteoui Lake."

Mason speaks at length also of the name. Shea's suggestion that it was given as a compliment to the French monarch is extremely probable, as H. A. Rafferman has found proof that Tonty took part in the capture of the Netherland Crevècoeur. The usual reason of attributing the name to LaSalle's despondency finds no mention in any writings of LaSalle or in the authentic accounts of Tonty of 1684 and 1693, or in Hennepin's "Louisiana" of 1683.

"A Short History of the Mississippi Valley," by James K. Hosmer, 1901, p. 37, says: "From here the party passed to the Illinois, on which he built Fort Crèvecoeur."

Breese's early history of Illinois, pages 113-14-15-16, 1884, is as follows: "The spot now entitled to claim the honor of this erection has long been a subject of dispute, many ingenious conjectures having been elaborated to establish it, involved as it is in so much doubt and uncertainty. Time, ever busy in destroying, has long since crumbled to earth the frail fabric and erased every artificial mark of its certain existence. The spot is no longer known. Some who are curious in such matters, locate it at or near Peoria lake on the west side. You may see there, just above the town, heaps of ruins, remains of buildings, and other rubbish of antiquity, but they are supposed to be the ruins of the mission of St. Louis, and not of Crèvecoeur. Others place it on the east side of the river, and though in the same vicinity, still higher up the stream, whilst our historian, Bancroft, locates it 'four days' journey below Lake Peoria.'" After referring to differences in ancient maps, and quoting Hennepin's account of the selection of the site and its location, he concludes: "The facts we gather from this relation are that the fort was 'down the river' from Peoria; that it was upon an eminence on its bank with a natural ditch on each side, and accessible in one direction only. What place may answer to this description, my knowledge of the topography of the country will not enable me to say. Bancroft is in error when he says it was built 'four days' journey below Peoria lake,' and evidently confounds that lake with the Illinois lake first visited, which I have assumed to be but an expansion of the river near Ottawa. If this conjecture be correct, 'four days' journey below' it, as Hennepin's narrative states, would place Crèvecoeur at a point below, but near the site of the present flourishing city of Peoria, a spot I should like to visit, so full of interest as it is, and where for the first time in this magnificent valley, the pennon of France was unfurled to its winds."

Brown's Illinois history, 1844, page 123, says: "He commenced immediately building a fort a little above where Peoria now stands." He gives no reasons and quotes no authority for the statement.

Drown's Record and Historical View of Peoria and Almanac of 1850, says on page 43, after quoting Hennepin's description: "Some have placed it near Wesley City, below and some near to Spring Bay, about ten miles above our city, but according to the description given by Father Hennepin, the site is about three miles above this (?); the remains are yet to be seen answering Father Hennepin's description." On page 44 he gives a diagram of some remains which he surveyed two or three miles east of Peoria in 1842. Either he is not clear, or typographical errors exist, as this little book was published in Peoria at that early day. In other places his conclusions as to other points of Hennepin's description of the trip down the Illinois are contrary to all accepted authority.

Peck's Gazetteer, 1834, p. 104, a small pocket hand-book for the information of emigrants, according to its compiler, says: "The position of this fort cannot now be ascertained, but from some appearances, it is thought to have been near Spring Bay, in the northeast part of Tazewell county."

Governor Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, 1852, p. [illegible], says: "Fort Crevecoeur was located somewhere, I presume, on the southeast side of the river, eight miles above Peoria, on the lake."

Commenting on this extract, Mr. Ballance says in his History of Peoria County, 1870, p. 35, that "Governor Reynolds' means of correct information were superior, or at least equal, to that of anyone else, yet he was oftener in error."

In Illinois, Historical and Statistical, John Moses, 1889, p. 65, is the following: "On January 4, 1680, he passed through Peoria lake, and on the next morning arrived at the Indian village of the same name * * * * * and resolved to build a fort. Selecting a site about four miles south of the village, and 200 yards from the eastern bank of the river, he erected a rude fort, called Crevecoeur, the first structure erected by white men in Illinois. As all remains of this fort have long since disappeared, its precise location cannot now be determined."

Western Annals, 1857, Perkins, p. [illegible]: "A spot upon rising ground, near the river, was accordingly chosen, and the fort commenced."

Mr. Charles Ballance, in his History of Peoria County, 1870, p. 36, quotes Hennepin's description and comments thus: "This quotation settles, at once and forever, a question that has been disputed for the last 30 years, to-wit: The precise locality of this fort. The most of those who have written on the subject have placed it above Peoria some two or three miles, and others six or eight miles above. But the first difficulty that hypothesis meets with is, there is no high land on that side of the river, within the proposed bounds. All the land above the city on that side, for more than the greatest distance proposed, is liable to overflow to the extent of 10 or 15 feet. Besides, Hennepin says to locate it they went from Peoria down the river, and that they found a place where there was an eminence, and the bank of the river made one line, and two sides were made by ditches the rain had made very deep. There is no place on the river that fits this description but the village of Wesley, and that fits it exactly."

Davidson and Stuve's History of Illinois of 1874, p. 77, says: "The site chosen was on the east side of the river a short distance below the outlet of the lake. This was the extremity of a ridge approaching within 300 yards of the shore, and protected on each side by deep ravines. To fortify the bluff thus formed a ditch was dug behind to connect the two ravines. Embankments were thrown up to increase the altitude of the different sides, and the whole was surrounded by a palisade 25 feet high. The work was completed by erecting within the enclosure buildings for the accommodation of the men. The place of this ancient fort may still be seen a short distance below the outlet of Peoria lake."

The "Great West," by Jacob Ferris, 1856, p. 68, says: "LaSalle proceeded south to the Kankakee, a branch of the Illinois, and descending the river below Peoria, he passed the winter in building another fort which he called Creve Coeur."

In the "Past and Present" of LaSalle county, 1877, p. 15: "The place where this ancient fort stood may still be seen just below the outlet of Peoria lake."

In the History of Peoria county, 1880, p. 13, is the following: "They crossed the river and moved down about three miles where they erected a fort which LaSalle named Creve Coeur."

Flint in his Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, 1828, p. [illegible], says: "They wintered on the banks of the Illinois, near Peoria lake, where they built a fort, at once for winter quarters, and security against savages. They called the fort Creve Coeur."

"The Pioneers of Illinois," by N. Matson, 1870, p. 57, after quoting Hennepin's description: "The only place in this vicinity answering the above description is at the village of Wesley, which is located on the east side of the river, three miles below Peoria, and this is generally conceded to have been the site of the old fort."

An extract is given above from the text of Mason's chapters from "Illinois History," on p. 65, but on p. 200-201, in the notes of the same volume, is this note: "The exact location of Fort Crevecoeur has been a matter of controversy. The early authorities are "Relation Officielle," "Margry," I, pp. 467, 476, 488; "Lettres de LaSalle," "Margry," II, p. 247; "Hennepin's La," pp. 175 n, 187; "Hennepin N. D.", p. 142, and Franquelin's map, 1684; (Parkman's "LaSalle," p. 294; "Cartier to Frontenac," pp. 308, 344). A local antiquarian has held the place to be a projection of the bluff directly back of the village of Wesley City, three miles below Peoria ("Fort Crevecoeur," by J. Gale, Peoria Journal, Jan. 11, 1890).

Parkman at first adopted a similar view, saying in his "Discovery of the Great West," p. 168, ninth edition: "The spot may still be seen a little below Peoria," but he omits this sentence in his last edition of the same work. Others think it stood in Fond du Lac township in Tazewell county, above Peoria, and a mile and a half below the narrows of Peoria lake (Chicago Tribune, Nov. 16, 1889); but a very competent authority fixes the site farther to the north, and identifies it with a mound a little below Spring bay in Woodford county (Hiram W. Beckwith, in the "Land of the Illini," (Chicago Tribune, Feb. 24, 1895). This is probably the correct location."

It is hard to reconcile this conclusion with the correct statement already quoted in the text. In fact, they cannot both be correct, and the author certainly never visited the locality, or he would not have published such a contradiction.

All the supposed sites mentioned have been visited and inspected, and but one answers the description of the correct translations of Hennepin, LaSalle, Tonty, Membre, Metairie and Joutel.

There is at Wesley City a hillock, distant about 200 paces, or three arpents, from the bank of the river, having the deep ravines at the sides, and almost enclosed on the fourth, with traces of washing where the ditch was dug. The top still has the outline of an irregular square, and can easily be imagined as it was before the earth was taken from the top to make the parapet against the chevaux-de-frise and wooden palisade of the outer edge.

Below, and nearer the river, is plenty of room for the building of the boat which never grew old enough for a name. While it is true that all artificial remains of the rude fortifications have long since vanished under the destructive agencies of man and time, yet the earth remains, and the hills and ravines can not better be described today than in the very language used by those hardy French explorers.

This hill is about a league below the outlet of the lake.

The conditions are fulfilled, and there, where once stood LaSalle and Tonty, and where they first unfurled the lilies of France, to float in proud possession of the whole Mississippi valley, a huge boulder of granite, with a suitable inscription, has been erected, as a lasting and appropriate monument, by the Peoria chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

COPIES OF PARIS DOCUMENTS.

[Procured by J. F. Steward, 1901. No corrections of grammatical or other errors found in the originals have been made.]

LOUSIANNE.

MONSEIGNEUR—J'ay l'honneur d'informer votre Grandeur de la défaite des Renards sur les terres de la Louisianna par les Illinois et les nations des frontieres du Canada. Nos sauvages se plaingnent que ceux du Canada, ont trop gardé d'esclaves qu'ils denoient tous les tuer comme ils ont fait. Quelque bien quaillent les affaires les sauvages ne sont jamais content. Ce que j'ay pu scavoir de plus positif par les Francois qui estoient à cette expedition c'est qu'on a tuez onze a douze cent renards, tant hommes que femmes et enfans?

Cette destruction fait un bien infini a la colonie de la Louisianne dont le progres estoit arresté pas les courses continuelles que faisoient ces sauvages tant sur les francois que sur les Illinois. A present ce païs va devenir dautant plus fertile qu'il sera peuplé et mieux cultivé. Ce quartier doit estre regarde comme un des plus important de cette colonie, et il faut absolument que la Compagnie y entretienne un grand estat-major. Non seulement pour contenir les sauvages mais les francois coureurs et libertins qui establissent dans cet endroit hors de desson les yeux des gouverneurs; de plus le fleuve estant devenir libre par la destruction des natchez, thioux yazous et corrois qui avaient resolu de detruire les establissements des francois; de ces quatre nations qui estoient sur le fleuve il n'en reste pas quarante hommes qui sont dispersés pour esviter de tomber entre les mains des autres nations qui j'ai mis apres eux.

L'expedition que je viens de faire, monseigneur, prouve a Votre Grandeur qu'on a en tort de lui insinuer que la guerre contre les Sauvages icy ne se pouvoit que par d'autres sauvages j'ay pense le contraire depuis que je suis dans ce pays icy j'ay esprouvé depuis seize mois sans rien espargner que les sauvages sont bons et a s'entre escarmoucher et a lever quelques cheveleures par cy par la mais incapable de pouvoir forcer ni detruire une nation fortifiée, javoue que nous suffrirons dans les premieres marches que nous ferons, mais rien n'est impossible au francois bien conduit il se fait peu a peu aux marches les plus penibles quand il s'agit de la gloire du Roy? Les officiers et les soldats qui ont marché avec mon frer et moy n'estoient asseurement pas foits aux fatigues de ce pais icy, qui ont este le plus rude qu'on ait veu depuis 30 ans, leur zele et leur emulation ne leur a fait faire aucune difference entre le beau et le mauvais tems quand il s'est agi d'attaquer l'ennemy. Que nous avons trouvé dans un pais jusqu'alors inconnu a tous francois et même a nos sauvages alliez dont aucun na pu nous servir de guide. C'est dans cette scituation si capable d'abatre le courage le plus dur que les officiers ont fait voir par leur exemple que rien n'estoit impossible aux Francois qui ne travaillent que pour la gloire du Roy.

On a voulu egalement faire voire a Votre Grandeur que je la trompais lorsque j'avais l'honneur de luy marquer qu'il y avoit 17 piedes d'eau sur la barre du fleuve? Je descend avec le vaisseau, la Sonme, pour faire un proces verbal de l'entree du fleuve et je prend la liberté de dire a Votre Grandeur qu'il serait très necessaire au progrès de cette colonie que le Roy envoya tous les ans un vaisseau dans le fleuve tant pour estre asseuré de l'entrée que pour rendre compte du succes des differentes cultures et de l'etat des fortress cette colonie merite l'attention de Votre Grandeur le fleuve est le plus beau port que la France puisse avoir dans le Golfe, il ni avoit que douze pieds d'eau sur la barre quand je suis venu dans ce pais icy j'y en ai mis 17 par le seul passage des vaisseaux et naiant jamais eu ce qui m'estoit necessaire pour y travailler de suite; je fais rester deux navires de la compagnie pendant huit jours sur la barre.

Correspondance Générale year 1731.
Vol. XIII
Archives du Ministere des Colonies, Paris.

COPIES OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MINISTRY OF THE COLONIES, PARIS, FRANCE, MARCH 11, 1901, COPIED AND TRANSLATION MADE BY C. M. ANDRIST, FOR J. F. STEWARD.

[It is believed that these reports were never before translated into English and that they have never been referred to by historians.]

MY LORD—I have the honor of informing Your Greatness of the defeat of the Foxes upon the territory of Louisiana by the Illinois and the nations of the frontiers of Canada. Our savages complain that those of Canada have kept too many slaves, that they ought to kill them all, as they have done. However well things go the savages are never contented. That which I have been able to learn the most positive from the French, who were on that expedition, is that they killed eleven or twelve hundred Foxes, men as well as

women and children. This destruction will do an infinite amount of good to the colony of Louisiana whose progress was arrested by the continual incursions which they made upon the French as well as upon the Illinois. At present this country is going to become all the more fertile as it will become populous and better cultivated. This region must be regarded as one of the most important of this colony, and it is absolutely necessary that the company should maintain a great staff, not only to keep the savages in check, but the roving and libertine French who establish themselves in this section away from the eyes of the governors; furthermore, the river having become free by the destruction of the Natchez, Thioux, Yazous and Corrios, who had resolved to destroy the establishments of the French. Of these four nations who were upon the river there does not remain forty men who have dispersed in order to avoid falling into the hands of the other nations whom I have sent after them.

The expedition which I have just made, my lord, proves to your grandeur that folks were wrong in insinuating that the war against the savages here could only be carried on by other savages. I have thought the contrary ever since I have been in this country. I have experienced for 16 months without sparing anything that the savages are good to skirmish against each other and to take off a few scalps here and there, but incapable of being able to force or destroy a fortified nation. I avow that we shall suffer in the first marches which we make, but nothing is impossible to the Frenchmen well led. He customs himself, little by little, to the most difficult marches when it is a question of the glory of the king. The officers and soldiers, who have marched with my brother and me, were certainly not accustomed to the fatigues of this country, which have been the most trying that have been seen for thirty years. Their zeal and their emulation caused them to make no difference between the good and the bad weather when it was a question of attacking the enemy whom are found in a country up to that time unknown to all French and even to our allied savages of which none could serve us as guides. It was in that situation, so capable of striking down the courage of the most hardy that the officers showed by their example that nothing was impossible to the French who only work for the glory of the king.

Folks also wished to show your grandeur that I was deceiving him when I had the honor to inform him that there were 17 feet of water upon the bar of the river. I descended with the vessel, the Somme, to have a report made of the entrance of the river, and I take the liberty to say to your grandeur that it would be very necessary for the progress of this colony that the king should send every year a ship into the river, as much to be assured of the entrance as to take account of the success of the different crops and the state of the fortresses. This colony merits the attention of your grandeur. The river is the most beautiful part which France can have in the gulf. There were only twelve feet of water upon the bar when I came to this country. I have put in 17 in the only passage of the vessels and never having had what I needed to work successively at it I have had two ships of the company remain on the bar for eight days.

Correspondence Generale, year 1731,

Vol. XIII,

Archives des Ministere des Colonies, Paris.

18 December, 1731, Canada.

Defaite des sauvages Renards. Le 6 Aoust, 1730 le Sr. de Villiers commandant à la Riviere St. Joseph apris par deux Maskoutins qui lui furent deputés par leur nation que les Renards qui s'estoient mis en marche pour se rendre chez les Iroquois avoient ete poursuivis par les Poutoutamis Maskoutins Kikapous et Illinois et qu' apres avoir essuyé deux differentes attaques de la part de ces nations, ils avoient gagne un bosquet de bois ou ils s'estoient fortifiés avec leurs familles.

Il donne aussitôt avis de cette nouvelle au Sr. de noyelles commandant aux miamis, il detacha en même temps deux sauvages au commandant du Detroit pour lui en faire par et le 10 du même mois il partit lui même à la tête de 300

Français [illegible] sauvages alliés pour se rendre au lieu [illegible] les Renards. [illegible] le Sr. de St. Ange qui y etait deja arrivé de la Louisiane avec [illegible] Français et [illegible] sauvages. Le Sr. de Noyelles s'y rendit aussi avec des [illegible] en sorte que la troupe se trouva composée d'environ [illegible] hommes.

Les Renards etoient [illegible] leur fort dans un bouquet de bois [illegible] sur le bord d'une Riviere dans une vaste prairie. Le Sr. St. Ange s'etait campé a la gauche de cette riviere et avoit fait faire des [illegible] pour couper [illegible] aux ennemis; mais ce [illegible] furent inutiles, les Renards ayant trouvé le moyen de pratiquer des chemins souterrains qui communiquaient a la riviere.

Le Sr. de Villiers se campa a la droite de leur fort pour le battre. Il en fit [illegible] un même tems avec un cavalier* et pour en aprocher de plus pres [illegible] a la tranchée. Les ennemis firent d'abord grand feu sur [illegible] mais ils [illegible] a parlementer. les [illegible] sauvages qui [illegible] des [illegible]. Ils proposèrent de [illegible] au Sr. de St. Ange qui fit le même refus.

Les ennemis se trouverent par la [illegible] a manger leur couvertures de peaux; malgré cet état [illegible] ils soutinrent pendant 23 jours; mais le [illegible] il y eut un orage si furieux et la nuit si obscure, qu'il ne fut pas possible au Sr. de Villiers d'engager les sauvages a garder les passages; les ennemis profiterent de cet avantage pour sortir de leur fort; mais les cris de leurs enfants et une femme qui se [illegible] a la tranchée ayant découverte leur fuite, on les poursuivit, on les joignit a la pointe du jour, on donna sur eux avec vigueur, on les mit en déroute; 200 guerriers furent tués ou brulés; [illegible] femmes ou enfans eurent le même sort, et cette defaite jointe aux autres pertes que cette nation avoit souffert dans les differentes attaques qu'elle avoit essuyé precedemment de la part des sauvages alliés, la reduite a 30 cabannes avec quelques vieilles femmes sans enfans errante sans vivres [illegible]. les Illinois ont encore frapé sur elle;† et ne trouvant d'azile nulle part, elle a pris le parti d'envoyer deux nouveaux chefs a Mr. le Marquis de Beauharnois pour lui demander la vie.

Dans les paroles que ces 2 chefs lui ont portes de la part du reste de la nation ils se sont representes comme des victimes dignes de la mort et ils lui ont demandé grace que pour reparer, par leur soumission les crimes que leur obstination leur a fait commettre. Ils lui ont proteste que si dans la suite il se trouve quelque coupable ils le livreront euxmêmes pour estre puni, et pour assurance de leur protestation, ils lui ont demandé quelqu'un pour les gouverner. M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, leur a repondu avec fermete, il leur a fait voir l'indignité de leur conduite, il leur a reproche leur trahisons, et les tentatives qu'ils avoient faites chez les Sonontouans dans le temps qu'ils lui demandoient la paix; il leur a dit qu'il voulait d'autres assurances de leur fidelite que leur protestations et leurs paroles: et il a exige que l'un d' eux restât aupres de lui, et que l'autre allât chercher 4 des principaux guerriers de la nation pour lui venir demander pardon l'année prochaine a Montreal; sans quoi tout ce reste miserable seroit extermine sans misericorde, cette condition a este accepte l'un des chefs est parti pour aller faire part a sa nation de la reponse de M. le Mil. de Beauharnois, l'autre est reste auprès de lui et on attend le printemps prochain le 4 guerriers. Les sauvages paroissent cependant toujou en eteindre la race, et M. le Marquis de Beauharnois les entiendra dans cette disposition si cette nation manque a ce qu'elle lui a promis.

Cette defaite a repondu la joye ches les nations et il est venu l'este dernier a Montreal des sauvages de toutes portes pour en marquer leur satisfaction à M. le Marquis de Beauharnois et lui renouveler les assurances de leur fideli-

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*A little fort erected for protection of advanced positions. J. F. S.

†Suivant une lettre du Sr. de Boisherbert commandant au Detroit du 15 Juillet, 1731, les Illinois ont tué dans cette occasion 3 femmes et fait prisonniers 5 hommes et 9 femmes ou enfans.

tès, et il y a este d'autant plus sensible lui même que par la resignation de tous les sauvages il s' est aperçu de l'impression que cette guerrea fait sur leurs esprits et qui se trouve par ce moyen en ètat de travailler a retablir dans les pays d'enhaut la paix qui'cy etait enterrompüe depuis longtemps et d'y continuer nos etablissements. C'est dans cette veu qu'il a renvoye cette annèe ches les Sioux pour y retablir le poste qu'on avoit este obligé d'abandonner, a cause de la proximité des Renards et il a renouvellé pour cet effet le traité qu'il avoit fait lors du par etablissement de ce poste. *

Il ne lui a paru moins important de penser au poste de la Baye que la proximité des Renards avoit aussi fait abandonner, il y a envoyé le Sr. de Villiers au retour de son expedition pour le retablir comme il etoit avant qu'il fut evocué en cas qu'il trouve les Sakis dans la disposition d'y etablir pareillement leur village.

Il a cru devoir, d'abord pouvoir au retablissement de ces deux postes d'autant plus que l'empechmens que les Renards aportoient a celui des Scioux ne subsistant plus, on sera en état d'en tirer tous les avantages qu'on s'etait proposé. D'un autre côté l'enterprise de Sr. de la Veranderie le demandoit, parce qu'il est absolument necessaire que cette nation soit dans nos interêts, a fin de nous mettre a portée d'estre en commerce avec les assiniboils et les Cristenaux chès lesquels il faut posser pour aller à la découverte de la mer de l'Ouest. Les Cristenaux ont en affaire avec les Sautertirs, de la pointe de Cha-gonamigon et leur ont tué quelques hommes. Mais il compte l'affaire accomodée, et il veillera a ce que ces sauvages vivent en paix a l'avenir, les differens entre ces nations prejudicieroient beaucoup a toutes nos entreprises, pour la reussite desquelles, il est besoin de la tranquillité qu'il tacher d'afermir dans les pays d'en haut.

Canada Correspondence Génerale 1731, pag., vol. 56, page 336.

M. De Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine. Fonctionnaires divers de la Colonie.

DEFEAT OF THE FOX SAVAGES.

Canada, December 18, 1731.

The 6th of August, 1730, Mr. De Villiers, commandant at the St. Joseph river, learned from two Maskoutins who had been sent to him by their nation that the Foxes, who had started on the march to go to the Iroquois, had been pursued by the Pottawattamies, Massoutines, Kickapoos, and Illinois, and, that after having endured two different attacks on the part of these nations, they had gained a thicket (of woods) where they had fortified themselves with their families. He immediately gives advice of this news to Mr. de Noyelles, commandant at the Miamis. He sends at the same time two savages to the commandant of Detroit to notify him of it and the 10th of the same month he himself departs at the head of 300 French or allied savages to go to the place where the Foxes were. He found there Mr. de St. Ange who had arrived from Louisiana with 100 French and 400 savages. Mr. de Noyelles also comes there with the nations of his post, so that the troop is composed of about 1,400 hundred men. The Foxes had constructed their fort in a bunch of woods situated on the side of a river in a vast prairie. Mr. St. Ange had camped at the left of that river and had had redoubts constructed in order to cut off the water from the besieged, but these redoubts became worthless, the Foxes having found the means of contriving subterranean ways which communicated with the river. Mr. de Villiers camped at the right of their fort in order to assail it. He also had two of them constructed with a cavalier, (a kind of fort to protect advanced positions) and, in order to approach the closest possible to try to set fire to it, he had a trench opened. The besieged at first opened a great fire upon him, but they sought to parley; the savage nations who only wished to make slaves, proposed to him to harken to them,

* Ce traite avait esté fait en 1726, il y en a une copie cy-jointe.

but he constantly refused; so that they directed their attempts in the direction of Mr. St. Ange who made them the same refusal. The besieged found themselves thereby reduced to eat their skin coverings; in spite of this desperate condition they held out for 23 days; but the 8th of September there was such a terrible storm and the night was so dark that it was not possible for Mr. de Villiers to induce the savages to guard the passages.

The besieged profited of this advantage to leave their fort; but the cries of their children and a woman who was going to the French having made known their flight, they are pursued, they are overtaken at the break of day, they are attacked with vigor, they are put to flight; 200 warriors were killed or burned; 600 women or children met the same fate, and this defeat joined to their other losses which that nation had suffered in the different attacks which it had endured previously from the part of the allied savages reduced it to 30 cabins with a few old women without children, wandering about without provisions or supplies. The Illinois attacked them * once more and finding no refuge anywhere, they decided to send two new chiefs to M. le Marquis de Beauharnois in order to ask their lives of him.

In the expressions which these two chiefs brought to him from the rest of the nations, they represented themselves as victims worthy of death, and they only asked grace in order to repair, by their submission, the crimes which their obstinacy had caused them to commit. They protested to him that if in the future any guilty person was found among them they would deliver him up themselves to be punished; and, for an assurance of their protestations, they asked him for some one to govern them. M. le Marquis de Beauharnois answered them with firmness. He showed them the infamy of their conduct. He reproached them for their treachery and the attempts which they had made among the Sonontouans at the time when they were asking him for peace. He told them that he wished other assurances of their fidelity than their protestations and their words; and he required that one of them should remain with him and the others should go fetch four of the principal warriors of the nation to come and beg his pardon the next year at Montreal; without which all the miserable remainder should be exterminated without mercy. This condition having been accepted, one of the chiefs departed to go and inform his nation of the answer of M. le Marquis de Beauharnois. The other remained with him, and the four warriors are expected the following spring. The savages, however, appear to desire to destroy the race, and M. le Marquis de Beauharnois will keep them in that disposition if that nation fails in what it has promised him. This defeat has spread joy among the nations, and last summer there came to Montreal savages from all parts to express their satisfaction to M. le Marquis de Beauharnois and to renew to him the assurance of their fidelity. He has been all the more aware of it himself, as by the resignation of all of the savages he perceives the impression which that war has made upon their minds, and as by that means he finds himself in a position to work to re-establish in the upper country the peace which had been interrupted for so long a time, and to continue our establishment there. It is with that in view that he has sent away this year among the Sioux to re-establish the post there which had to be abandoned on account of the proximity of the Foxes, and he renewed, to that end, the treaty which had been made at the time of the first establishment of that post.†

It seems none the less important to think of the post at the bay, which the proximity of the Foxes had also caused to be abandoned. He sent there Mr. de Villiers, upon his return from his expedition, to re-establish it as it was before it was evacuated, in case he found the Sacs in the disposition to also establish their village there.

He believed that he ought to first provide for the re-establishment of these two posts, the more so as the hinderance which the Foxes had occasioned to the one among the Sioux no longer existing, they would be enabled to derive

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* According to a letter from Mr. de Boishebert, commandant at Detroit, of July 15, 1731, the Illinois killed on that occasion three women and made prisoners of five men and nine women and children.

† This treaty had been made in 1726. There is copy attached to th

all the advantages which they expected. On the other hand, the enterprise of Mr. de la Veranderie demanded it, because it is absolutely necessary that that nation should be on our side in order to enable us to be in communication with the Assiniboils and the Cristenaux, through whose territories it will be necessary to pass to discover the ocean of the west. The Cristenaux had an affair with the Sauteurs* of the point of Chagoumigon, and killed a few men, but he counts the affair as settled, and he will see that the savages live in peace in the future. The differences among these nations hindered all our enterprises exceedingly, for the success of which there is need of tranquillity, which he will undertake to make more secure in the upper country.

Génerale Correspondence Canada, 1731.
Vol. 56, page 336.
M. D. Maurepas, Minister of the Marine,
Divers functionaries of the Colony.

SAUVAGES RENARDS,

MR. LE MARQ. DE BEAUHARNOIS,
Du 6 May, 1730.

A marqué qu'un party de 200 sauvages surpris 20 cabannes des Renards et qu'il avois esté massacre ou brulé 80 hommes et 300 femmes ou enfans, ne s'etaient sauvé que trois hommes. Que depuis cette aventure les grand chef des Renards avoit esté trouvé le commandant Francais à la Rivière St. Joseph pour demander misericorde et qu'il devoit descendre pour cela à Montreal aimant mieux courir les risque d'estre tué en chemin que dans son village.

Que l'enterprise faite contre eux en 1728 a fait tant d'impression dans l'es prit des autres nations, qu'elles se maintiendront dans le party des Francais et continueront la guerre contre les Renards.

Du 25 Juin.

Le Dubisson, commandant à Missilimakinic, luy avoit donne avis que toutes les nations des pays d'enhaut estoient si fort animes contre les Renards, qu'un corps de sauvage il assez considerable l'avoit prié de se mettre a leur tête pour tomber sur les Renards; qu l'avoit accepté et qu'il estait party avec 600 Sauvages et 20 Francais.

Du 18, 8bre, 1730.

Mssrs. de Beauharnois et Hocquart marquent que les raisons qui ont engagé le Dubuisson dans cette demarche leur font penser qu'il ne sera pas desaprouvé d'autant plus que le bien du service et la necessité qu'il y avant d'en imposer aux nations sur les discours desavantageux qu'elles tenoient du peu succès de la campagne de 1728 le demandait.

Il est vray qu'il n'a pas reussy dans cette enterprise quoy qu'il ait apporté toute l'application et le zele qu'on pouvait attendre mais les Renards estaient decampez de leur fort avant son arrivee. Il les a même pour suivy pendant quelques jours inutilement.

La despense qu'il a faite en cette occasion pourra monter a ce qu'il leur a marqué a 2 ou 3 m. Ils en envoyeront l'estat l'annee prochaine. Cependant a fin qu'aucun autre commandant ne tombe pas dans le même cas. M. de Beauharnois a ecrit a tous les commandants des postes de ne point accepter de pareilles propositionss de la par de sauvages sans recevoir auparavant ses ordres. Il a pareillement deffendu de traitter, ny armes, ny munitions, tant aux Renards qu' a leurs allies dans le nombre desquels sont particulierment les Sakis. Ils ajoutent que cette derniere tentative du Sr. le Dubuisson existe denouveau dans l'esprit des nations la defaite entiere des Renards; les Sioux qui ne s'estoient pas jusqu 'a present declares ont frappe dessus et en ont tué douze; ainsy il y apparence qu'ils safforbliront de maniére qu'ils ne pourront plus se relever et qu'on assuera par ce moyen la tranquillité des pays d'enhaut sans qu'il soit besoin dorenavant d'autres secours que des sauvages même que M. de Beauharnois continuera d'entretenir dans ces dispositions jusqu 'a ce que les Renards soient entierement detruits on qu'ils soient soumis aux conditions prescrittes s' ils demandant la paix.

* The Sauteurs inhabited the region around the Saut St. Marie; hence the name.

Du 10, 8 bre, 1730

Le Marquis de Beauharnois envoye la copie d'une lettre que luy a ecrit le commandant du Detroit le 22, Aoust, 1730.

Il en resulte que deux sauvages Mascoutins arrivès a la Rivière St. Joseph ou commande le Sr. de Villiers ont raporté que les Renards, se battoient avec les Illinois, entre le Rocher et les Ouyatanons que les puants, Mascoutins et quiquapoux s'estoient joints aux Illinois et avoient tombé sur les Renards qui se trouverent par ce moyen enfermez des deux costès mais dans le moment que les puants les Mascoutins et Quiquipoux attaquoient les Renards compants que les Illinois leur feroient face de l'autre costé, ceux cy pruent la fuite. Il y a eu dans cette gr attaque 6 puants blessez et un tué. Il a este tue aussy deux Quiquapoux de la Riviere St. Joseph qui estoient etablis parmi les Sakis, ce qui fera un bon effet parce que ce la les a animé contre les Renards et il s'en fallait beaucoup qu'ils ne le fussent auparavant. Il y a eu aussi plusieurs Renards tues ou blessez.

Les francois des Cahosquia ont reproché aux Illinois qu'ils estoient des femmes et qu'ils ne scavoient point se battre, qu'a leur egard ils alloient partir avec leurs negres pour le joindere aux sauvages et defaire les Renards; ils forment deja un party assez considerable. Car les Illinois qui avoit fuy ont rejoint, ils ont fait des troux en terre pour se mettre à l'abry et les Renards sont dans un Islet de bois, si'ils y restent il y a toute aparence qui'ils pouront este defaits, parce que le Sr. de Villiers devoit partir de la Riviere St. Joseph avec tous ses gens et devoit en ecrire au commandant du detroit pour demander le secours des ses sauvages, mais ces lettres ne luy sont point encore arrivée et ses sauvages qui doutent ce cette nouvelle ne veulent point partir que les lettres du Sr. de Villiers ne soient arrivées on ne doit cependant point douter que ces nouvelles ne soient veritables. Le Pere messager missionnaire à St. Joseph ayant ecrit a peu pres la même chase au P. la Richhardy missionnaire du detroit. Les puants du detroit paroissent bien determiner a y aller, aussy bien qu'une partie des Outases, mais il y tres peu de Hurons parce qu'il en est resté 80 du party qui avoit marché le printemps dernier. Il en est cependant arrivé il y a huit jours qui ont aporte une Chevelure des Chicachas, on espere que le reste des Hurons pourra rejoindre et ce sera un bon renfort.

Les Renards ont dit qu'ils attendoient un gros party d'Iroquois qui devoit les joindre et leur accorder retraite. Ils ont peut estre tenu ces discours pour epouvanter les autres nations. Cependant il est très seur que les Iroquois a la sollintation des Anglais sement tous les jours des colliers qui nous sont tres prejudiciables.

Here begins a chapter on the Sioux.

The preceding are analyses of letters written by M. L. Marquis de Beauharnois to Mr. DeMaurepas, minister of the marine. The original letters do not exist, simply the analysis made by a clerk employed in the ministry.

Canada.

Correspondence Generale, 1731, Vol. 56, page 321.

Reports.

Fox Savages.

M. le Marq. de Beauharnois,

of the 6th of May, 1630 (1730).

has noted that a party of two hundred savages surprised twenty cabins (tepees) of the Foxes and that there has been massacred or burned eighty men and three hundred women or children, only three men having gotten away. That since that adventure the grand chief of the Foxes had been to see the French commandant at the river St. Joseph in order to beg for mercy and that he had to descend for that to Montreal, preferring rather to run the

risk of being killed on the road than in the village. That the enterprise undertaken against them in 1728 had made such an impression upon the minds of the other nations that they will now keep on the side of the French and continue the war against the Foxes.

Of the 25th June.

Le Dubuisson commandant Missilimakinac, had advised him that all the nations of the upper country were so embittered against the Foxes that quite a large body of savages had begged him to place himself at their head in order to fall upon the Foxes, that he had accepted and that he had departed with six hundred savages and twenty French.

[Note. These two articles have already been reported.]

From 18th Oct., 1730.

Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart note that the reasons which have induced le Dubuisson in this move makes them think that he will not be censured the more so as the good of the service demanded it, and the necessity that there was of overawing the nations for the slighting remarks which they made about the lack of success of the company of 1728.

It is true that he did not succeed in that enterprise although he devoted all the application and zeal which could be expected, but the Foxes had decamped from their fort before his arrival. He even pursued them uselessly for several days.

The expenses which he had on this occasion will amount to what he noted to them, to two or three M. They will send the account of it the next year. However, in order that no other commandant may fall in the same error, M. de Beauharnois has written to all the commandants of the posts to not accept such propositions on the part of the savages, without first receiving orders from him. He has likewise forbidden, to furnish either arms or munitions to the Foxes and their allies in the number of which are particularly the Saks. They add that this last attempt of Mr. le Dubuisson has revived anew in the minds of the nations the complete defeat of the Foxes. The Sioux who up to the present had not declared themselves, attacked them and killed twelve. Thus there is an appearance that they will become enfeebled so much so that they will not be able to recover, and by these means the tranquillity of the upper country will be assured, without any further need of other assistance than the savages themselves, whom Mr. le Beauharnois will continue to keep in that disposition until the Foxes are entirely destroyed, or have submitted to the conditions prescribed, if they ask for peace.

From Oct. 10th, 1730.

The Marquis de Beauharnois sends the copy of a letter which the commandant of Detroit, had written him, Aug. 22nd, 1730.

It appears that two Mascoutin savages came to the river St. Joseph where Mr. de Villiers commanded, reported that the Foxes were fighting with the Illinois between the Rock and the Ouatonons that the Puants, Muscoutines and Kickapoos had joined the Illinois and had fallen upon the Foxes, who found themselves by this move hemmed in on both sides, but at the moment when the Puants, the Muscatines and Kickapoos attacked, expecting the Illinois to face them on the other side, the latter fled. There were in that great attack six Puants wounded and one killed; there were also killed two Kickapoos of the river St. Joseph, who were established among the Saks, which will produce a good effect, because that will excite them against the Foxes, and it lacked but little before. There were also several Foxes killed or wounded.

The French of the Cahosquia reproached the Illinois, saying that they were women and did not know how to fight; that as for themselves, they were going to leave with their negroes to join the savages and defeat the Foxes; they already form quite a large party, for the Illinois who had fled, joined them. They made holes in the ground in order to get under cover, and the Foxes are in a little ilet of wood. If they remain there, there is every appearance that they will be defeated, since Mr. de Villiers was to leave the

River St. Joseph with all his men, and was to write of it to the commandant at Detroit, to ask him for the assistance of his savages, but these letters have not yet reached him and his savages who doubt this news, do not wish to depart because the letters from Mr. de Villiers had not arrived. There should be no doubt, however, but that this news is true, LePere, missionary messenger at St. Joseph having written about the same thing to P. la Richardy, missionary at Detroit. The Puants, of Detroit, appear very much determined to go, as well as a party of the Outases, but there were very few Hurons, because there remained 80 from the party which had marched last spring. There arrived, however, some eight days ago, [one] who brought a scalp from the Chicasaws. It is hoped that the remainder of the Hurons will be able to join and that will make a good reënforcement. The Foxes said that they were expecting a large party of Iroquois, which, was to join them and offer them refuge. They perhaps, have [said] these things in order to frighten the other nations. However, it is very sure the Iroquois at the instigation of the English, send every day, beads which will be very harmful to us.

The preceeding are analyses of letter written by M. le Marquis de Beauharnois to M. de Maurepas, minister of the marine. The original letters do not exist, simply the analysis, made by a clerk employed in the ministry.

Canada.

Correspondence Generale, 1731, Vol. 56, page 321.

CANADA, 16 May, 1731.

MONSEIGNEUR—Nous avon en l'honneur, M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, et moy de vous escrire l'hiver dernier par la Nouvelle Angleterre, a la occasion de la defaite des Renards. Je joins a celle cy le duplicata de ma lettre particuliere du 16 Janvier dernier qui vous sera rendu monsigneur par la voye de l'isle Royalle.

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

HOCQUART.

A Quebec le 16 May, 1731.

Canada Correspondence Gènèrale, 1731, Vol. 55.

RELATION DE LA DEFAITE DES RENARDS PAR LES FRANCAIS DE LA LOUISIANNE ET DU CANADA

Les Renards unis avec les Maskoutins et Quikapous nous fesoient depuis bien des années une guerre ouverte et aux sauvages nos alliez? ils surprenoient nos detachements, ils enlevoient nos voisgeurs, traversoient tous nos dessins et venoient nous enquitter même juisque dans nos habitations, que nous ne pouvions cultiver que les armes a la main, on avait tenté déja plusieurs fois de les detruire mais le peu de concert l'esprit et la mauvaise conduite de ceux qui furent chargés en divers tenis de cette enterprise l'avoient toujours fait eschouer. Un evenement causa enfin leur desunion et la parte des Renards.

Au mois d'Octobre de l'année 1728 un parti de Quickapous et Maskoutins fit prisonnier sur le Missisipi dix-sept Francais que descendoient des Sioux aux Illinois. Ils delibrerent d'abord sils les brusleroient ou sils les remittroient entre les mains des Renards qui les leur demandoient. Mais le pere Guignas miss. Jesuite qui estoient du nombre des prisonniers gagna leur confiance et vient about ensuit des les detacher deux et des les engager a nous demander la paix. Il vint luy même avec eux aubout de cinq mois de captivité au fort de Chartres on elle se conclut selon leur souhaits.

Les Renards et affaiblis et deconcertes par cette division penserent a se refugier par les Ouyatanons ches les Iroquois amis des Anglais. Les Quikapous et Maskoutins penetrerent leur dessin et ils en donnerent avis dans tous les poste aux Francais de la Louisianne et du Canada. On douta quelque tems de leur bonne foy et Mr. de St. Ange, officier commandandant au fort de Chartres, ne pouvait determiner les habitans Francais a se mettre en campagne.

Cependant les Illinois du village des Kakokias vinrent au mois de Juillet, 1730, nous aprendre que les Renards avoient fait des prisonniers sur eux et brûlé le fils de leur grand chef aupres du rocher sur la riviere des Illinois le nouvelle jointes a des avis que nous receumes d'ailleurs engagerent a partir on assembla les sauvages. Mr. de St. Ange se mit a la teste des Francais et le 10e jour d'aoust ceux ci aiant joint les trois a quatre cent sauvages qui les avoient devancés de quelque jours notre armée se trouva forts de 500 hommes.

Les Quikapous, Maskoutins et Illinois du rocher s'estoient rendus maitre des parrages du costé du nord est et fut vraisemblement ce qui contraiguit les Renards de faire un fort, au rocher a une lieur audessons d'eux pour se mettre a convert de leurs insultes. Nous eumes des nouvelles de l'ennemi le 12, par un de nos decouvrenes qui nous aprit on estoit leur fort et qu'il y avoit compte cent onze cabannes. Nous n'en estoins plus esloigner que de deux ou trois journées? Nous continuanes donc notre marche par des pais converts, et le 17, a la pointe du jour nous arrivarres a la vue de l'ennemi. Nous tombarres sus un parti de 40 hommes qui estoient sortis pour la chasse que nous contraignimes de regagner leur fort.

C'estoit un petit boquet de bois renfermé de pieux et situé, sur une pente douce qui s'elevoit du côte du oüest et du nord oüest le long d'une petite riviere, en sorte que du côté du sud et du sud 'est on les voioit a decouvert leurs cabannes estoient fort petites et pratiquées dans la terre comme les tannieres des renards dont ils portent le nom.

Au bruit des premiers coups de fusil les Quikapous, Maskoutins et Illinois qui estoient souvent aux mains avec leurs partis et qui depuis un mois attendoient du secours vinrent nous joindre au nombre de 200 hommes on se partagea selon les ordres de M. de St. Ange pour bloquer les renards qui firent ce jour la deux sorties inutiles. On ouvrit la tranchée la nuit suivante et chacun travailla a se fortifier dans le post qui luy este assigne.

Le 19 les ennemis demanderent a parler. Ils offurent de rendre les esclaves qu'ils avoient faits autrefois sur les Illinois, et ils en rendirent en effet quelques uns. Maison s'apercut qu'ils ne cherchorent qua nous amuser; on recommencea a tuer sur eux des le lendemain.

Nous fumes joint les jours suivants par 50 a 60 Francois et 500 sauvages Pouatamie, et Sakis que avoit amenés M. de Villiers, commandant de la riviére St. Joseph, ouyatanons et Peauguichias; nouvelle conference. Les renards demandent la vie des presents a la main. Mr. de Villiers paroit tenté mais ses gens n'estoient pas les plus forts et il ne pouvait rien conclure sans le consentment des Francois et sauvages Illinois qui ne vouloient se preter a aucun accommodement.

Cependant on s'aperceut que les Sakis nous trahissoient, parens et alliez des renards. Ils traittoient sous main avec eux. Ils leur fournissoient des munitions, et ils prenoient des mesures, pour favoriser leur evasion. Nos sauvages qui s'en aperceurent le 1 er 7 bre s'armentrent et ils estoient sur le point de donner sur les Sakis lorsque Mr. de St. Ange a la teste de 100 Francois savanca pour fermer toutes les avenues du côte des Sakis et retablit le bon ordre.

Nous dissimulames, cette perfidie jusqua l'arrivée de Mr. de Noïlle, commandant des Miamis, qui se rendit a notre camp le même jour avec 10 Francois et 200 sauvages, il aportoit des defenses de M. le Gouverneur de Canada de faire aucun traitté avec les renards, on tint un cons'l general les Sakis y furent humiliés, et toutes les voix se reunnent pour la perte de l'ennemy.

Mais nous souffrions deja depuis longtems de la faim aussi bien que les renards nos sauvages reduits a manger leurs *pars fleches* se rebutoient 200 Illinois deserterent le 7, 7 bre. Ce mauvais example n'ent pas de suite, les renards estoient plus presse tous les jours les trouppes de Mr. de St. Ange, construissoient a deux portees de pistollet, un petit fort qui alloit leur couper la communication de la riviere. Tout paroissoit nous annoncer une victoire complete.

Mais le 8e 7bre un orage violent des tonnerres affreux une pluie continuelle interrompirent nos ouvrages cette journee fut suivie d'une nuit aussi pluvieuse que noire et tres froide les renards profiterent de l' occasion et sortirent en silence de leurs fort, on s'en aperceut aussitôt aux cris des enfants. Mais que faire et a quelle marque se reconnaitre dans cette obscurité? On craignoit egalement de tuer nos gens et de laisser eschaper l'ennemi, tout le monde estoit cependant sous les armes et les sauvages savancoient sur les deux ailes des Renards pour donner des que le jour paroitroit, il parut enfin et chacun se mit a les suivre, nos sauvages plus, frais et plus vigoureux les joignirent bientôt.

Les femmes, les enfans, et les viellards marchoient a la teste et les guerriere s'estoient mis derriere pour les convrir, ils furent d'abord rompus et defaits, le nombre des morts et des prisonnier fut environs de 300 hommes guerrier sons parler des femmes et des enfans, tous convienent qui'il n'en est eschapé au plus que 50 ou 60 hommes qui se sont sauves sans fusil et sans des meubles necessaires a la vie les Illinois du rocher, les maskoutins et les quikapous sont actuellement apres ce petit reste de fuiards et les premiers nouvelles nous aprendront ladestruction de cette malheureuse nation.

Nous ne scavons pas encore combien les nations du canada ont tries de guerriers non plus que le nombre d'esclaves qu'ils ont faits.

Canada—Correspondance Generale, 1732, Vol. 57, page 316.

CANADA, May 16, 1731.

MY LORD:—We had the honor, M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, and myself, to write you last winter via New England, on the occasion of the defeat of the Foxes. I join to this the duplicate of my especial letter of the 16th of January, last, which will be brought to you, Monsigneur, by the way of Ile Royal.

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Hocquart.

AT QUEBEC, May 16, 1731.

Canada—Correspondence Generale, 1731, Vol. 55.

There are also in the archives, eight other letters relative to the wars with the Foxes, but all prior to 1730.

Canada—Correspondence Generale, 1731, page 251, Vol. 56.

Account of the defeat of the Foxes by the French of Louisiana and Canada:

The Foxes united with the Mascoutins and Kickapoos, had carried on open warfare against us, and against the savages, our allies. They surprised our detachments; they carried away our travelers; thwarted all our schemes, and even came to disturb us in our settlements, which we could only cultivate, our arms in our hands. Their destruction had been undertaken already several times, but the lack of harmony, the temper and the bad leadership of those who were charged at different times with this enterprise, had always caused it to fail. An event finally caused their disunion and the loss of the Foxes.

In the month of October, of the year 1728, a party of Kickapoos and Mascoutins captured upon the Mississippi 17 French, who were descending from the Sioux to the Illinois. They deliberated at first whether they should burn them or whether they should give them into the hands of the Foxes, who were asking for them: but Father Guignas, a Jesuit missionary, who was one of the prisoners, gained their confidence and finally succeeded in detaching them from them * and induced them to ask us for peace. He, himself, came with them at the end of five month's captivity, to Fort de Chartres, where it was concluded according to their wishes.

* Foxes.

The Foxes enfeebled and disconcerted by this division thought about taking refuge (by passing through the territory of the Outanous) among the Iroquois the friends of the English. The Kickapoos and Mascoutins anticipated their designs and they gave notice of them in all the French posts in Louisiana and Canada. Their good faith was doubted for some time and M. de Saint-Ange, officer commanding at Fort Chartres could not persuade the French inhabitants to take up arms.

However, the Illinois of the village of Lakokias came in the month of July, 1730, to tell us that the Foxes had taken some prisoners among them and had burned the son of their great chief near the Rock upon the Illinois river. These news joined to information we received from elsewhere leads us to move. The savages are brought together, M. de St. Ange places himself at the head of the French, and the 10th day of August after having overtaken the 300 or 400 savages which had preceeded them several days, our army finds itself 500 men strong.

The Kickapoos, Mascoutins and Illinois of the Rock had taken possession of the northeast quarter and it was probably that which constrained the Foxes to build a fort at the Rock a league below them in order to get under cover from their assaults. We had news of the enemy on the 12th from one of our scouts who informed us where their fort was and that he had counted there 111 cabins. We were distant from it only two or three days march. We continued therefore our march through covered country and the 17th, at the break of day we arrived in sight of the enemy. We met a party of 40 men, who had gone out on the hunt whom we forced to return to their fort. It was a little thicket of woods enclosed with palisades and situated upon a gentle slope which rose in the direction of the west and northwest along a little river; so that in the direction of the south and southeast one saw plainly, their tepees were small and set in the earth like the dens [holes] of foxes whose names they bear.

At the noise of the first gun the Kickapoos, Mascoutins and the Illinois were often in contact with their bands and who had been expecting aid for a month came to join us to the number of 200 men. They divided according to the orders of M. de St. Ange in order to blockade the Foxes who made two unfruitful attempts to get out that day. A trench is opened in the following night and each works to fortify himself at the post assigned him.

The 19th the enemy asks a parley. They offered to give up the slaves which they had formerly taken from the Illinois and they returned several in fact, but it could be seen that they were only seeking to amuse themselves [delay]. The firing upon them began again the next morning. We were joined the following day by 50 to 60 French and 500 savages, Pottawattamies and Saks whom M. de Villiers, commandant of St. Joseph river, Outamons and Peanquichias, had led thither. New conference. The Foxes ask for their lives with presents in their hands. M. de Villiers appears tempted, but his followers were not the strongest and he could not conclude anything without the consent of the French and the Illinois savages, who would not lend themselves to any agreement.

In the meanwhile we perceived that the Saks were betraying us, the relatives and allies of the Foxes. They were treating underhandedly with them. They were furnishing them with ammunition and they were taking measures to favor their escape. Our savages, who noticed it the 1st of September, mutinied, and they were upon the point of attacking the Saks when M. de St. Ange, at the head of 100 Frenchmen, advanced so as to close all avenues in the direction of the Saks and reestablished good order.

We feigned not to take notice of this perfidity until the arrival of M. de Noille, commandant of the Miamis, who came to our camp the same day with ten French and 200 savages. He brought a prohibition from the governor of Canada to make any treaty with the Foxes. A general council was held. The Saks were humiliated and all voices joined for the destruction of the enemy.

But we had already suffered a long time from hunger as well as the Foxes. Our savages reduced to eat their shields, were disheartened. Two hundred

Illinois deserted on the 7th of September. This bad example had no result. The Foxes were pressed harder every day. The troops of M. de St. Ange constructed a small fort at two lengths of a pistol shot, which was to cut them off from communication with the river. Everything appeared to announce a complete victory for us.

But the 8th of September a violent storm with frightful thunder, a continual rain interrupted our works. This day was followed by a night quite as rainy, dark and very cold. The Foxes profited by the occasion and left their forts in silence. It was immediately noticed from the cries of the children. But what could we do and by what marks could we recognize one another in that darkness? We feared equally killing our own men and letting the enemy escape. Everyone, however, was under arms and the savages advanced upon the two wings of the Foxes in order to attack them as soon as the day should appear. It finally appeared and each one began following them. Our savages fresher and more vigorous, soon overtook them.

The women, the children and the old men were marching at the head and the warriors had taken their places behind them in order to cover them. They were at first broken and then defeated. The number of the dead and of the prisoners was about 300 warriors without speaking of the women and the children. All agree that at the most only 50 or 60 men escaped who ran away without guns or any of the weapons necessary to life. The Illinois of the Rock, the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos are at present after this small remaining number of runaways, and the first news will bring information of the destruction of that miserable nation.

We do not know how many warriors the Nations of Canada killed nor the number of slaves which they have taken.

Canad, Correspondence, Generale, 1732, vol. 57, page 316.

This is the document which Ferland had before him when he wrote the description of the battle, indeed he made use of the account in toto.

NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTURE OF WILLIAM BIGGS BY THE KICKAPOO INDIANS IN 1788.

[Written by himself and publishedlin 1826.]

[William Biggs was born in Maryland in 1755, and there received a fair elementary English education. In 1778, at the age of 23, he enlisted in the regiment raised by Col. George Rogers Clark for conquest of the Illinois, and was elected a lieutenant of his company. After expiration of his military service he married and began farming in the western part of Virginia not far from Wheeling. But he was so fascinated with the beautiful, fertile country he had seen in Illinois, in the campaign with Col. Clark, that he left the rocky, sterile hills of Virginia in 1784, in company of his two brothers, and a few of his military comrades with their families, and returned to Illinois to here find a permanent home. They settled down with James Moore, Shadrach Bond, Sr., Larken Rutherford and others, in and about Bellefontaine, near the present town of Waterloo, Monroe county. In 1790, Mr. Biggs was appointed, by Gov. St. Clair, sheriff of St. Clair county—the first county organized in Illinois, comprising the territory west of a line drawn from the confluence of the Little Mackinaw with the Illinois river, to the mouth of a creek above Fort Massacre on the Ohio river, and bounded on the south and west by the Ohio, Mississippi and Illinois rivers. In December, 1802, he was defeated at an election held in Cahokia, by Jean Francois Perry, for delegate to a convention called by Governor Harrison, to meet at Vincennes for the purpose of petitioning congress to abrogate or suspend the clause of the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the Northwestern territory. In September, 1804, he was elected as one of the representatives of Illinois territory in the legislature of the Indiana territory that met at Vincennes, and was elected in 1806. He was elected to represent St. Clair county in the legislative council (Senate) of Illinois territory in 1812, and re-elected in 1814. In 1808 he was elected to an office in St. Clair county styled "Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas," which he held for a number of years, holding the first term of his court in a corn crib. In 1818, he was defeated for the office of sheriff of St. Clair county by Wm. Anderson Beaird. In recognition of his valuable military and civil services, congress, in 1826, granted him three sections of land. He was then engaged in the manufacture of salt from a salt spring near Silver creek, in Madison county, and died at the residence of Col. Thos. Judy, in that county the following year, 1827. He is described by his contemporaries as a very handsome man, tall, erect, of fine military figure, with florid complexion, dark hair and eyes, and having keen intelligence, and pleasant affable disposition. J. F. S.]

NARRATIVE OF WILLIAM BIGGS.

In the year 1788, March 28, I was going from Bellfontain to Cahokia, in company with a young man named John Vallis, from the state of Maryland; he was born and raised near Baltimore. About 7 o'clock in the morning I heard two guns fired; by the report I thought they were to the right; I thought they were white men hunting; both shot at the same time. I looked but could not see anybody; in a moment after I looked to the left and saw 16 Indians, all upon their feet, with their guns presented, about 40 yards distant from me, just ready to draw trigger. I was riding between Vallis and the Indians, in a slow trot, at the moment I saw them. I whipped my horse, and leaned my breast on the horse's withers, and told Vallis to whip his horse, that they were Indians. That moment they all fired their guns in one platoon; you could scarcely distinguish the report of their guns one from another. They shot four bullets into my horse, one high up in his withers, one in the bulge of the ribs near my thigh and two in his rump, and shot four or five through my great coat. The moment they fired their guns they ran towards us, and yelled so frightfully that the wounds and the yelling of the Indians scared my horse so that my gun fell off my shoulder, and twisted out of my hand. I then bore all my weight on one stirrup, in order to catch my gun, but could not. I had a large bag of beaver fur, which prevented me from recovering my saddle, and having no girth nor crupper to my saddle, it turned and fell off my horse, and I fell with it, but caught on my feet and held by the mane; I made several attempts to mount my horse again, but the Indians running up so close, and making such a frightful yelling, that my horse jumped and pranced so that it was impossible for me to mount him again; but I held fast to my horse's mane for 20 or 30 yards; then my hold broke and I fell on my hands and knees, and stumbled along about four or five steps before I could recover myself. By the time I got fairly on my feet, the Indians were about eight or ten yards from me. I saw then there was no other way for me to make my escape but by fast running, and I was determined to try it, and had but little hopes at first of my being able to escape. I ran about 100 yards before I looked back. I thought almost every step I could feel the scalping knife cutting my scalp off. I found I was gaining ground on them; I felt encouraged, and ran about 300 yards farther, and looking saw that I had gained about 100 yards, and considered myself quite out of danger. A thought then occurred to me that I was as safe and out of danger as I would be if I were in the city of Philadelphia. The Indians had quit yelling and slacked their running, but I did not know it then.

It being a tolerable cold morning, and I was heavily clad, I thought perhaps the Indians would give me a long chase, and probably they would hold out better than I could; although at that time I did not feel the least tired or out of breath. I concluded to throw off my two coats and shoes, as I would then be better prepared for a long race. I had my great coat tied around me with a silk handkerchief pretty much worn—I recollect tying it with a slip knot, but being in a hurry it was drawn into a double hard knot; I tried some little time to get it loose—the longer I tried the harder the knot seemed to get, that stopping my running considerably; at length I broke it by some means, I do not know how. In the morning I forgot to put on my shot pouch before I put on my great coat, and then put it on over it. I pulled off the sleeves of my great coat, not thinking of my shot-pouch being over the coat, it having very short straps, the coat got so tight in the strap that I could not get it loose for a considerable time. Still trying, it hung down and trailed on the ground, and every two or three steps it would wrap around my legs and throw me down, and I would catch on my hands and knees, it served me so several times, so that I could make no headway at running. After some considerable time, I broke the strap and my great coat dropped from me—I had no knife with me.

The Indians discovered that something was the matter and saw me tumbling down several times. I suppose they thought I was wounded and could run no farther; they then set up the yell again and mended their gait running. By the time I got my great coat loose from me, and was in the act of pulling off my under coat, I was pulling off one sleeve, I looked back over

my shoulder, but had not time to pull it off—the Indians being within ten yards of me. I then started again to run, but could not gain any ground on them, nor they on me; we ran about 100 yards farther and neither appeared to gain ground; there was a small pathway that was a little nearer than to keep the big road,—I kept the big road, the Indians took the path, and when we came where the path comes into the big road the Indians were within three or four yards from me—we ran 40 or 50 steps farther, and neither appeared to gain ground. I expected every moment they would strike me with their tomahawks—I thought it would not do to be killed running like a coward and saw no other way to make my escape than to face about and to catch the tomahawk from the first that attempted to strike me, and jerk it from him, which I made no doubt but I was able to do; then I would have a weapon to fight with as well as them, and by that means I would be able to make my escape; they had thrown down their guns before they gave me chase; but I had not fairly faced about before an Indian caught me by the shoulder and held his tomahawk behind him and made an attempt to strike me. I then thought it best for me not to make any resistance till I would see whether he would attempt to strike me or not. He held me by the shoulder till another came up and took hold off me, which was only four or five minutes; then a third Indian came up; the first Indian that took hold of me took the handle of his tomahawk and rubbed it on my shoulder and down my arm, which was a token that he would not kill me, and that I was his prisoner. Then they all took their hands off me and stood around me. The fourth Indian came up and attempted to strike me, but the first Indian that caught me pushed him away. He was still determined to kill me, and tried to get around to my back, but I still faced round as he was trying to get to my back. When he got up by my side he drew his tomahawk the second time to strike me, but the same Indian pushed him off again and scolded him very much. He let his tomahawk hang by his side, but still intended to kill me if he could get an opportunity. The other Indians watched him very closely. There were but four Indians that gave me chase; they were all naked except their breachcloth, leggins and moccasins. They then began to talk to me in their own language, and said they were Kickapoos, that they were very good Indians. I need not be afraid, they would not hurt me, and I was now a Kickapoo and must go with them, they would take me to the Matocush, meaning a French trading town on the Wabash river. When the Indians caught me I saw Mr. Vallis about 100 yards before me on the road—he had made a halt. They shot him in the left thigh, about seven or eight inches above the knee, the ball came out just below the hip, his horse was not injured—he rode an elegant horse which carried him out of all danger—his wound mortified, he lived six weeks after he was wounded, then died. I understood their language, and could speak a little. They then told me to march; an Indian took hold of each of my arms, and led me back to where they shot at me, and then went about half a mile further off the road, where they had encamped the night before and left their blankets and other things. They then took off my undercoat and tied my hands behind my back, and then tied a rope to that, tying about six or seven feet long, we then started in a great hurry, and an Indian held one end of the rope while we were marching.

There were but eight Indians marched in company with me that morning from the camp. The other eight took some other route, and never fell in with us again, until some time after we got out of their towns. We had marched about three or four miles from that camp when Vallis arrived at the fort, about six miles from where they caught me, where they fired a swivel to alarm the people who were out of the fort. When the Indians heard the

*The "Fort" mentioned by Mr. Biggs, known then as Piggott's Fort—to which his companion, Vallis, succeeded in escaping—was a block house built by James Piggott and others, at the foot of the bluffs, in Monroe county, where the road from Waterloo to Cakokia—unchanged since then—crosses the rivulet, named by the early French inhabitants of the American Bottom, *Le Grand Ruisseau*, where it emerges from the bluffs, a mile and a half directly west of Columbia, in that county. Mr. Biggs, when captured, had reached a point on that road three miles due south of Columbia, and very nearly opposite the farm house built there several years ago by Mr. Warnick. The exact spot was shown by Mr. Biggs after his return, and is still well known. J. F. S.

swivel they were very much alarmed, and all looked that way and hallowed, "yough, yough." They then commenced running, and in a pretty smart trot of a run for five or six miles before they halted, and then walked very fast until about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when they separated, I supposed to hunt, having nothing to eat. The old chief and one of the other Indians kept on a straight course with me; we traveled about three miles, when we got a little way into a small prairie and halted about 15 minutes; there one of the party fell in with us; he had killed a bear and brought as much of the meat with him as he could carry. We then crossed the prairie and came to a large run about one mile and a half from where we had halted to rest. By this time the three Indians had joined us. We halted there, made a fire and roasted the bear meat, the other two Indians stayed behind as spies. Whilst the meat was cooking, the Indians held a council what they would do with the Indian that wanted to kill me. He was a young fellow about 19 years of age and of a different nation, being a Pottowattema. They did not want him to go to war with them; they said he was a great coward and would not go into danger till there was no risk to run, then he would run forward and get the best of the plunder, and that he would not be commanded; he would do as he pleased; was very selfish and stubborn, and was determined to kill me if he could get a chance. They determined in their council to kill him. It is a law with the Indians when they go to war, if an Indian will not obey the counsels and commands of his captain or chief, to kill them. When their meat was cooked, they ate very hearty, and when they were done eating, three of the Indians got up, put on their budgets and started, this young Indian was one of them. I also got up to show a willingness to be ready. The old chief told me to me to sit down, and the three Indians started off. In about three or four minutes after we started, but varied a little in our course. We had not traveled more than one hundred yards when we heard the report of a gun. The old chief then told me that they had killed the Indian that wanted to kill me. The other two Indians fell in company with us before night. We then traveled till about 10 o'clock in the night, when we encamped at a large grove of timber in a prairie, about four miles from the edge of the woods; made no fire that night. We traveled about forty miles that day. After they rested awhile they sat down to eat their "jirk." They gave me some but I could not eat any. After they were done eating, one of the Indians was sitting with his back against a tree, with his knife lying between his legs. I was sitting facing him with my feet nearly touching his. He began to inquire of me of what nation I belonged to. I was determined to pretend that I was ignorant and could not understand him. I did not wish them to know that I could speak some Indian language, and understand them better than I could speak. He first asked me in Indian if I was a Mattocush (that is Frenchman in English.) I told him no. He asked me if I was a Sagenash, (an Englishman.) I told him no. He again asked if I was a Shemolsea, (that is a long knife or Virginian,) I told him no. He then asked me if I was a Bostonely, (that is American.) I told him no. About one minute afterwards, he asked me the same question over again. I then answered him yes; he then spoke English and caught up his knife in his hand, and said: "You are one dam son of a bitch." I really thought he intended stabbing me with his knife. I knew it would not do to show cowardice, I being pretty well acquainted with their manner and ways. I then jumped upon my feet and spoke in Indian and said, "Manetway, kien, depaway" (in English it is "No, I am very good,") and clapped my hand on my breast when I spoke, and looked very bold. The other Indians all set up such ha! ha! and laugh that it made the other Indian look very foolish. He sat still and looked very sulky. After they had rested awhile they began to prepare to lay down; they spread down a deer skin and blanket for me to lay on. They had tied a rope around my arms above my elbows, and tied that rope across my back, and a rope around my neck; they then tied the end of another rope behind to the neck rope, then down my back to the pinion rope; they then drew my hands forward across my stomach and crossed my wrists; then tied my wrists very tight; then tied my legs together, just below my knees:

then tied my feet together with a rope around my ankles; then took a small cord and tied in between my wrists, and also between my ankles very tight, in order to prevent me from drawing out my hands or feet; they then took another cord and tied one end to the neck rope; then to the hand rope; then from the hand rope to the knee rope; then they took a rope about six feet long and tied one end to the wrist rope, and the other end to a stake about six feet from me stretched very tight, and an Indian laid on that rope all night; then they took another rope about the same length, and tied one end to the knee rope and the other end to a stake, and another Indian laid on that all night; then they tied a large half-dressed elk rope, one end to the back part of the neck rope which made a knot as big as my fist, the other end they tied to a stake about six feet from my head. When they finished their tying me, they covered me with a blanket. They tied me in the aforegoing way nine nights in succession; they had me stretched and tied so tight, that I could not move one inch to turn or rest myself; that large knot was on the back of my neck, so that I was obliged to lay on it all night, and it hurt my neck very much. I never suffered as much in the same length of time in all my life; I could hardly walk when we got to their town. They never made me carry anything except a blanket they gave me to keep myself warm, when they took all my clothes from me. The Indians carried a deerskin and blanket all the way for me to lodge upon. When my hands and feet became sore with the tying, the Indians would always pull off my moccasins at night and put them on in the morning, and patch them when they would require it.*

The second day we started very early in the morning and traveled about 35 miles, which was the 29th day of March. They killed a deer that day—in the evening they took the intestines out of the deer and freed them of their contents, when they put them in the kettles with some meat and made soup. I could not eat any of it.

The fourth day we traveled about 25 miles. We stopped about 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon at a pond. They stayed there all night. They had some dried meat, tallow, and buffalo marrow rendered up together, lashed and hung upon a tree about 20 feet from the ground, which they had left there in order to be sure to have something to eat on their return. They killed two ducks that evening. The ducks were very fat. They picked one of the ducks, and took out all its entrals very nice and clean, then stuck it on a stick, and stuck the other end of the stick in the ground before the fire, and roasted it very nice. By the time the duck was cooked, one of the Indians went out and cut a large block out of a tree to lay the duck upon; they made a little hole in the ground to catch the fat of the duck while roasting. When the duck was cooked, they laid it on this clean block of wood, then took a spoon and tin cup and lifted the grease of the duck out of the hole and took it to the cooked duck on the table, and gave me some salt, then told me to go and eat. I sat by and eat the whole of the duck, and could have eaten more if I would have had anything more to eat, though I had no bread. I thought I had never eat anything before that tasted so good. That was the first meal I had eaten for four days. The other duck they pulled a few of the largest feathers out of, then threw the duck—guts, feathers and all—into their soup-kettle, and cooked it in that manner.

The fifth day we traveled about 30 miles. That night I felt very tired and sore; my hands, arms, legs and feet had swelled and inflamed very much by this time; the tying that night hurt me very much, indeed. I thought I could

*It is much to be regretted that Mr. Biggs delayed writing the history of his capture and captivity by the Indians until 38 years after its occurrence, when he was 71 years of age; as after that lapse of time many incidents of his harrowing experience, and his impressions of the topography of the country over which he journeyed, had no doubt measurably faded from his memory. In his narrative he fails to describe any stream he crossed, or to mention particularly any prominent landmark he saw, by which we can now trace with certainty the route he traveled. Presuming his Indian captors, in hastening to their village on the Wabash, a few miles below, where Lafayette, in Indiana now stands, only deflected from a direct course to avoid crossing large streams, they must have passed through or near the site of Belleville, there crossing Richland creek, and camped the first night not far from Lebanon, perhaps on Silver creek. Thence, they probably crossed the east branch of Shoal creek, a short distance north of Greenville, then passed through, or near the sites of Tower Hill, Sullivan, Tuscola and Danville. J. F. S.

not live until morning; it felt just like a rough saw cutting my bones. I told the Indians I could not bear it, it would kill me before morning, and asked them to unslack or unloosen the wrist rope a little; that hurt me most. They did so, and rather more than I expected; so much that I could draw my hand out of the tying, which I intended to do as soon as I thought the Indians were asleep. When I thought the Indians were all asleep I drew my hand out of the tying, with an intention to put it back again before I would go to sleep, for fear I should make some stir in my sleep and they might discover me. But finding so much more ease, and resting so much better, I fell asleep before I knew it, without putting my hand back in the tying. The first thing I knew about 3 o'clock in the morning, an Indian was sitting astraddle me, drawing his tomahawk and rubbing it across my forehead; every time he would draw a stroke with the pipe of his tomahawk, he threatened to kill me, and saying I wanted to run away; I told him to away. I would as leave die as live. I then told him I was not able to run away. He then got off me, and the rest of the Indians were all up immediately. They then held a short council and agreed to tie me as tight as ever, and they did so. I got no more sleep that night. I never asked them to loose my ropes any more.

The sixth day we traveled about 30 miles, and had nothing to eat that day.

The seventh day we traveled about 25 miles. They killed a doe that day; she had two fawns in her, not yet haired. They stopped about 4:00 o'clock in the evening and cooked the doe and her two fawns, and eat the whole up that night. They gave me part of a fawn to eat, but I could not eat it—it looked too tender. I eat part of the doe.

The eighth day we traveled about 25 miles, and had nothing to eat that day.

The ninth day we traveled about 15 miles. We then arrived at an Indian hunting camp, where they made sugar that spring. About 11:00 o'clock in the forenoon we had not yet anything to eat that day. The Indians that lived there had plenty of meat, hominy, grease and sugar to eat. They gave us a plenty of everything they had to eat. We were very hungry, and eat like hungry dogs. When we were satisfied eating, the warriors went into a large cabin, and I went with them, and immediately several of their friends came in to see them, both men and squaws, to hear the news. It is a custom with that nation for the squaws to demand presents of the warriors, if they have been successful. After some little inquiry, the squaws began to demand presents of the warriors; some would ask for a blanket, some for a shirt, some for a tomahawk; one squaw asked for a gun. The warriors never refuse anything that was demanded. The manner in which they made their demand was, they would go up to an Indian and take hold of what they wanted. When the squaws were done with the warriors, there came a squaw and took hold of my blanket. I saw how the game was played; I just threw it off and gave it to her. Then there came up a young squaw, about 11 or 12 years old, and took hold of my shirt. I did not want to let that go, as it was a very cold day, and I let on I did not understand what she wanted.

She appeared to be very much ashamed and went away. The older squaws encouraged her and persuaded her to try it again; she came up the second time and took hold of my shirt again; I still pretended to be ignorant, but she held fast. I knew it would have to go. One of the warriors then stepped up and told me to let her have it; I then pulled it off and gave it to her. The old squaw laughed very much at the young squaw. I was then quite naked and it was a very cold day; I had nothing on me but moccasins, leggins and breachcloth. We remained there about three or four hours. The warriors then went out to the war post to dance; they invited me to go with them to dance; I did so; they sang and danced around the war post for about half an hour. The old Indians would sing and dance sometimes out of the ring and appeared very lively. The warriors then marched right off from their dance on their journey. We had not got further than about 50 or 60 yards when I looked back and saw a squaw running with a blanket; she threw it on my shoulders; it fell down. I turned and picked it up; it was a very old dirty,

lousy blanket, though it was better than nothing, as the day was very cold. We traveled about five or six miles that evening, then encamped in the woods. I suffered very much that night from the cold.

The tenth day we traveled five or six miles in the morning. We got within a quarter of a mile of a new town, on the west bank of the Wabash river, where those warriors resided, about nine o'clock, and made a halt at a running branch of water, where the timber was very thick, so that they could conceal themselves from the view of the town. They then washed themselves all over and painted themselves with paint of different colors. They made me wash, then they painted me and said I was a Kickapoo. They then cut a pole and peeled it, painted it different colors and stuck the big end in the ground, and cleared a ring around the pole for to dance in. The fifth night they cut a lock of hair out of the crown of my head about as thick as my finger, plaited it elegantly, and put it in their conjuring bag, and hung that bag on the pole they contemplated dancing around, and said that was their prisoner, and I was a Kickapoo, and must dance with them. When they all got ready to dance, the captain gave three loud halloes, then walked into the ring and the rest all followed him. They placed me third next to the captain; they then began to sing and dance. When we had danced about half an hour, I saw several old men, boys and squaws come running to where we were dancing. When there was a considerable number of them collected, the captain stepped out of the ring and spoke to the squaws. He told them to carry his and the other warriors' budgets to the town; the captain then joined the other warriors and me in the dancing ring; he marched in the front and we danced and sung all the way from there into town. Some of the old Indian warriors marched upon each side of us, and would sing and dance until we got into their town. We continued dancing until we got through the town to the war post, which stood on the west bank of the Wabash river; danced around that about 20 minutes; they then marched into the town, took all the cords off me, and showed me a cabin, told me to go in there, they were good Indians, they would give me something to eat, I need not fear, as they would not hurt me. I accordingly went in where I received a plenty to eat and was treated very kindly. The warriors went into other cabins and feasted very greedily. We had not eat anything that morning nor the night before. About one hour and a half before the sun set the same evening, the warriors went out to the war post again to dance. They took me with them; several other Indians were present. They had danced about half an hour, when I saw two Indian men and a squaw riding a horseback across the Wabash river from the east side; they came to where we were dancing. One of the Indians had a handkerchief tied around his head and was carrying a gun; the other had a cocked hat on his head, and had a large sword. The warriors never let on that they saw them, but continued dancing about 15 minutes. After the two Indians and squaw came up the warriors quit dancing and went to them and shook hands; they appeared very glad to see each other. The captain of the warriors then talked with them about half an hour, and appeared to be very serious in their conversation. The captain then told me I must go with them two Indians and squaw. The sun was just then setting; the two Indians looked very much pleased. I did not want to go with them, as I knew not where they were going and would have rather remained with the warriors that took me, as I had got acquainted with them; but the captain told me I must go with the two Indians and squaw, and that they were very good Indians. The Indian that had a sword rode up to a stump and told me to get up behind him on his horse; I did so with great reluctance, as I knew not where they were going; they looked very much like warriors. However, they started off very lively, and the Indian that I was riding behind began to plague and joke the squaw about me; she was his sister-in-law. He was an Indian that was full of life and very funny. When I got acquainted with him I was well pleased with him. We traveled about ten miles that evening before we reached the place where they resided. They were then living at a sugar camp where they had made sugar that spring, on the west bank of the Wabash, about ten miles below the old Kickapoo trading town, opposite to the Weames town. We arrived at their sugar camp about two hours in the night. They then gave me to an old Kickapoo

chief, who was the father of the Indian that carried the gun, and the squaw, and the father-in-law of the funny Indian. The old chief soon began to inquire of me where I lived, and where the Indians caught me. I told him. He then asked me if they did not kill an Indian when they took me prisoner. I told him no, there was nobody with me but one man and he had no gun. He then asked me again if the Indians did not kill one of their own men when they took me. I told him I did not know; the captain told me they did, but I did not see them kill him. The old chief told me it was true, they did kill him, and said he was a bad Indian, he wanted to kill me. By this time the young squaw, the daughter of the old chief, with whom I traveled in company that evening, had prepared a good supper for me; it was hominy beat in a mortar as white and handsome as ever I saw, and well cooked; she fried some dried meat pounded very fine in a mortar, in oil, then sprinkled sugar very plentifully over it. I ate very hearty, indeed, it was all very good and well cooked. When I was done eating the old chief told me to eat more, I told him I had eat enough. He said no, if I did not eat more I could not live. Then the young squaw handed me a tin cup full of water sweetened with sugar. It relished very well. Then the old chief began to make further inquiries. He asked me if I had a wife and family. I told him I had a wife and three children. The old chief then appeared to be very sorry for my misfortune, and told me that I was among good Indians, I need not fear, they would not hurt me, and after awhile I should go home to my family; that I should go down the Wabash to Opost, from there down to the Ohio, then down the Ohio, and then up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia. We sat up until almost midnight; the old chief appeared very friendly indeed. The young squaw had prepared a very good bed for me, with bearskins and blankets. I laid down and slept very comfortably that night. It appeared as though I had got into another world, after being confined and tied down with so many ropes and the loss of sleep nine nights. I remained in bed pretty late next morning. I felt quite easy in mind, but my wrists and legs pained me very much and felt very sore. The young squaw had her breakfast prepared and I eat very hearty. When breakfast was over this funny Indian came over and took me to his cabin, about forty yards from the old chief's. There were none living at that place then but the old chief, his wife and daughter. They lived by themselves in one cabin, and the old chief's son-in-law and their wives in another cabin, and a widow squaw, the old chief's daughter, lived by herself in a cabin adjoining her brother and brother-in-law. None of them had any children but the old chief. A few minutes after I went into this funny Indian's cabin he asked me if I wanted to shave. I told him yes, my beard was very long. He then got a razor and gave it to me. It was a very good one. I told him it wanted strapping. He went and brought his shot-pouch strap. He held one end and I the other end. I gave the razor a few passes on the strap, and found the razor to be a very good one. By this time the old chief's young squaw had come over; she immediately prepared some hot water for me to shave, and brought it in a tin cup and gave it to me, and a piece of very good shaving soap. By the time I was done shaving the young squaw had prepared some clean water in a pewter basin for me to wash, and a cloth to wipe my hands and face. She then told me to sit down on a bench; I did so. She got two very good combs, a coarse and fine one. It was then the fashion to wear long hair; my hair was very long and very thick and very much matted and tangled; I traveled without any hat or anything else on my head; that was the tenth day it had not been combed. She combed out my hair very tenderly, and then took the fine one and combed and looked my head over nearly one hour. She then went to a trunk and got a ribbon and queued my hair very nicely. The old chief's son then gave me a very good regimental blue cloth coat, faced with yellow buff-colored cloth. The son-in-law gave me a very good beaver macaroni hat. These they had taken from some officer they had killed. Then the widow squaw took me into her cabin and gave me a new ruffled shirt and a very good blanket. They told me to put them on; I did so. When I had got my fine dress on, the funny Indian told me to walk across the floor. I knew they wanted to have a little fun. I put my arms akimbo with my hands on my

hips, and walked with a very proud air three or four times backwards and forwards across the floor. The funny Indian said in Indian that I was a very handsome man and a big captain. I then sat down, and they viewed me very much, and said I had a very handsome leg and thigh, and began to tell how fast I ran when the Indians caught me, and showed how I ran — like a bird flying. They appeared to be very well pleased with me, and I felt as comfortable as the nature of the case would admit of.

The next morning after breakfast, they all left that camp; they put all their property into a large perouge and moved by water up the Wabash river to the old Kickapoo trading town, about ten miles from their sugar camp; they sent me by land and one Indian with me. When we had got about half way to the town, we met with a young Frenchman; his name was Ebart; I was very well acquainted with him in the Illinois country; he spoke tolerably good English. The Indian then left me, and I went on to the town with the young Frenchman; I got to the town before the Indians arrived with their perouge, and the young Frenchman showed me their cabin, and told me to stay there until they would come, that they would be there in a few minutes. I there met with an English trader, a very friendly man, whose name was John McCanslin; he was from the north of England; we made some little acquaintance. He was a Free-mason and appeared very sorry for my misfortune and told me he would do everything in his power to befriend me, and told me I was with good Indians; they would not hurt me. He inquired of me where I lived and asked if I had a family. He then told me of the circumstance of the Indians killing one of their own men that day they caught me. He said it was a fact, he was a bad Indian and would not obey the commands of his captain and that he was still determined to kill me. My Indian family soon arrived and cleared up their cabin and got their dinner ready. They were a smart, neat and cleanly family, kept their cabin very nice and clean, the same as white women, and cooked their victuals very nice. After dinner was over, there came four Indians in the old chief's cabin. Two of them were the old chief's brother's children. They appeared to be in very fine humor. I did not know but they belonged to the same family and town. They had not been there more than one hour, until the old chief and the four Indians sat down on the floor in the cabin and had a long discourse about an hour and a half. Then all got up. The old chief then told me I must go with those Indians. I told him I did not want to go. He then told me I must go; that they were his children and that they were very good Indians; they would not hurt me. Then the old chief gave me to the oldest brother, in place of his father who was killed about one year before by the white people; he was one of their chiefs. Then the four Indians started off, and I with them. They went down to the lower end of the town and stopped at an Indian cabin and got some bread and meat to eat. They gave me some. I did not go into the Indian cabin. They had not been in the cabin more than ten or 12 minutes before the old chief's young squaw came up and stood at the door. She would not go in. I discovered the Indians laughing and plagueing her. She looked in a very ill humor; she did not want them to take me away. They immediately started from the cabin and took a tolerably large path that led into the woods in a pretty smart trot. The squaw started immediately after them. They would look back once in a while, and when they would see the squaw coming they would whoop, hollow and laugh. When they got out of sight of the squaw, they stopped running, and traveled in a moderate walk. When we got about three miles from town, they stopped where a large tree had fallen by the side of the path and laid high off the ground. They got up high on the log and looked back to see if the squaw was coming. When the squaw came up she stopped, and they began to plague and laugh at her. They spoke in English. They talked very vulgar to the squaw. She soon began to cry. When they got tired plaguing her, they jumped off the log and started on their road in a trot, and I ran with them. The squaw stood still till we got most out of sight. They would look back and laugh and sometimes hallow and whoop, and appeared to be very much diverted. They did not run very far before they slackened their running. They then walked moderately until they got to their town, which was three miles further from the tree they stopped at. We got into their town about one hour and a half

before the sun set. That same evening the squaw came in about half an hour after we arrived. I met with a young man that evening who had been taken prisoner about 18 months before I was taken. His name was Nicholas Coonse (a Dutchman) then about 19 years of age. He heard I was coming and he came to meet me a little way out of town. He was very glad to see me and I to see him, and we soon made up acquaintance. Coonse and myself were to live in one cabin together. The two brothers that I was given up to, one of them claimed Coonse and the other claimed me. They both lived in the same cabin. When the squaw arrived, she came immediately to our cabin and stood outside at the door; she would not come in. I noticed the Indians plaguing and laughing at her; she looked very serious. About sunset, Coonse asked me if I wanted a wife. (He could not speak very good English, but he could speak pretty good Indian.) I told him no. He then told me if wanted one, I could have one. I asked him how he knew that. He said, "There is a squaw that wants to marry you," pointing at her. I told him I reckoned not. He says, "Yes, inteed, she tus; she came after you a purpose to marry you." I told Coonse I had a wife, and I did not want another one. He says, "O, well, if you want her you can haf her." She stood by the door for some time after dark. I did not know when she went away; she staid two days and three nights before she returned home. I never spoke a word to her while she was there. She was a very handsome girl, about 18 years of age, a beautiful, full figure and handsomely featured, and very white for a squaw. She was almost as white as dark complexioned white women generally are. Her father and mother were very white skinned Indians.

The next day was the 9th of April, and 13th day that I had been their prisoner. The chief Indians and warriors that day held a general council to know, in what manner and way to dispose of me. They collected in the cabin where I lived. While they were in council their dinner was cooking. There were about ten in number, and they all sat down on the floor in a circle, and then commenced by their interpreter, Nicholas Coonse.

The first question they asked me was, "Would I have my hair cut off like theirs?" I answered "no." The second question they asked me was, "If I would have holes bored in my ears and nose and have rings and lead hung in them like they had?" I answered "no." The third question they asked me was, "If I could make hats?" (I had a large bag of beaver fur with me when they took me prisoner; from that circumstance I suppose they thought I was a hatter.) I answered "no." The fourth question they asked me was, "If I was a carpenter?" and said they wanted a door made for their cabin. I answered "no." The fifth question they asked me was, "If I was a blacksmith; could I mend their guns and make axes and hoes for them?" I answered "no." The sixth question they asked me was, "If I could hoe corn?" I answered "no." The seventh question they asked me was, "If I could hunt?" I answered "No, I could shoot at a mark very well, but I never hunted any." Then they told Coonse to ask me how I got my living if I could do no work. I thought I had outgeneraled them, but that question stumped me a little. The first thought that struck my mind, I thought that I would tell them I was a weaver by trade, a second thought occurred to my mind, I told Coonse to tell them I made my living by writing. The Indians answered and said it was very well. The eighth question they asked me was, "If I had a family?" I answered "yes," I had a wife and three children. The ninth question they asked me was, "If I wanted to go home to see my wife and children?" I answered "yes." They said, "Very well, you shall go home by and by." The tenth question they asked me was, "If I wanted a wife then?" I answered "no," and told them that it was not the fashion for white people to have two wives at the same time. They said, very well, I could get one if I wanted one, and they said if I stayed with them until their corn got in roasting ears, then I must take a wife. I answered them yes, if I stayed that long with them. Then they told me that I might go anywhere about in the town, but not to get out of sight of the town, for if I did, there were bad Indians around about the town and they would catch me and kill me, and they said they could run like horses; and another thing they said, don't you recollect the Indians that took you prisoner and cut a

lock of hair out of the crown of your head? I told them yes. They then told me in consequence of that, if you attempted to run away, you could not live eight days. If you will stay with us and not run away, you shall not even bring water to drink. I told them I wanted to go home to my family, but I would not go without letting them know before I went. They said very well. They appeared well pleased with me and told me again I might go any where about town, but not get out of sight of the town. I was sitting on a bench, when the old chief got up and put both his hands on my head and said something, I did not know what. Then he gave me a name and called me "Mohcossea," after the old chief that was killed, who was the father of the Indian that I was given up to. Then I was considered one of that family, a Kickapoo in place of their father, the old chief. Then the principal chief took the peace pipe and smoked two or three draws. It had a long stem about three feet in length. He then passed it around to the other Indians before they raised from their council. He held the pipe by the end and each of them took two of three draws. Then he handed it to me and I smoked. The chief then said I was a Kickapoo and that they were good Indians and that I need not be afraid; they would not hurt me, but I must not run away.

By this time their dinner was prepared and they were ready to eat. They all sat down and told me to sit by. I did, and we all eat a hearty dinner, and they all appeared to be well pleased with their new adopted Kickapoo brother.

These Indians lived about six miles west of the old Kickapoo trading town on the west side of the Wabash river. They had no traders in their town. After dinner was over, they told the interpreter, Coons, that I must write to their trading town for some bread. I told Coons to tell them I had nothing to write with—no paper nor pen and ink. They said I must write. I told Coons to tell them again I had no paper nor nothing to write with. Coons told them. Then the Indian that claimed me went to his trunk and brought me a letter that had one-half sheet of it clean paper. I told Coons to tell them I wanted a pen. The same Indian went and pulled a quill out of a turkey wing and gave it to me. I told Coons I wanted a knife to make a pen. The same Indian got his scalping knife; he gave it two or three little whets and gave it to me. I then told Coons I wanted some ink. Coons says: "Ink, ink; what is tat? I ton't know what ink is." He had no name for ink in Indian or English. I told him to tell the Indian to get me some gunpowder and water and a spoon, and I would make the ink myself. The Indian did so. I knew very well what their drift was; they wanted a proof to know whether I told them any lies when they examined me in their council. When I had made the ink and was ready to write, I asked Coons how many loaves of bread I should write for. He says: "Ho! a couple of lofes; tay only want to know if you can write or if you told tem any lies or not." I wrote to the English trader, that I mentioned before that I had made some acquaintance with the day I passed the old trading town, for to get me two loaves of bread. He very well knew my situation and circumstances. There was a Frenchman, a baker, that lived in the trading town. When I had finished writing, the Indian took it up and looked at it, and said: "Depaway, vely good." Coons' master, a brother to the one that claimed me, told Coons to go catch his horse and take the letter for the bread, not stay, but return as soon as possible. Coons hurried off immediately and soon returned. As soon as he came back he brought the two loaves of bread and gave them to me. I then asked Coons what I should do with this bread, as he was somewhat better acquainted with the ways of the Indians than I was. He says: "Kife one loaf to tay old squaw and her two chiltren, and tefide the otter loaf petween you and your master, but keep a pigest half." I did so. This old sqaw was the mother of the two Indians that claimed Coons and myself. The old squaw and her two children soon eat their loaf. I then divided my half between the two little children again. That pleased the old squaw very much; she tried to make me sensible of her thanks for my kindness to her two little children.

While Coons was gone for the bread the Indian that claimed me asked me to write his name. I asked him to speak his name distinctly. He did. I had heard it spoken several times before. His name was "Mahtomack." When I was done writing he took it up and looked at it and said it was "Depaway."

He then went to his trunk and brought his powder-horn, which had his name wrote on it by an officer at Post Vincennes in large print letters, and compared them together. They were both the same kind of letters and his name spelled exactly the same. He seemed mightily pleased and said it was "bon vely good." It was a big captain he said wrote his name on the powder-horn at Opost. The wife of the Indian that claimed me next morning combed and queued my hair and gave me a very large ostrich feather and tied it to my hat. The Sunday following after I was taken to that town, there was a number of Indians went from that town to the old Kickapoo trading town. They took me with them to dance what is called the "Beggar's Dance." It is a practice for the Indians every spring, when they come in from their hunting ground, to go to the trading towns and dance for presents; they will go through the streets and dance before all the trader's doors. The traders then will give them presents, such as tobacco, bread, knives, spirits, blankets, tomahawks, etc.

While we were in town that day I talked with my friend McCauslin to speak to the Indians and try to get them to sell me, but they would not agree to sell me then. They said they would come down the Sunday following and bring me with them, perhaps they would then agree to sell me. They complied with their promise and brought me down with them. My friend McCauslin then inquired of them if they had agreed to sell me; they told him they would. McCauslin then sent for the interpreter, and the Indians asked one hundred buckskins for me in merchandise. The interpreter asked me if I would give it. I told him I would. The Indians then went to the trader's house to receive their pay. They took but 70 buck's worth of merchandise at that time. One of the articles they took was bread—three loaves—one for the Indian that claimed me, one for his wife, the other one for me. I saw directly they wanted me to go back home with them. After a little while they started and motioned and told me I must go with them. I refused to go. The Indian fellow took hold of my arm and tried to pull me forward. I still refused going with them. He still continued pulling and his wife pushing me at the back. We went scuffling along a few yards till we got before my friend McCauslin's cabin door. He discovered the bustle and asked me what the Indians wanted. I told him they wanted me to go home with them. He asked me if I wanted to go. I told him no. He then told me to walk into his cabin and sit down and he would go and bring the interpreter. I went in and the two Indians followed me into the cabin and sat down. The interpreter came in immediately and asked the Indians what they wanted. They told him they wanted me to go home with them. The interpreter then asked me if I wanted to go with them. I told him no. He then told the Indians they had sold me and that they had nothing more to do with me, that I was a free man, that I might stay where I pleased. They then said they had not received all their pay. The interpreter then asked them why they did not take it all? They said they expected I would go home with them and remain with them until I got an opportunity to go home. The interpreter then told them they could get the balance of their pay. They said if I did not go home with them they must have 30 bucks more. The interpreter asked me if I was willing to give it. I told him yes. I did not want to go back again. The Indians then went and took their $30 of balance and 30 more and went off home. I then owed the traders that advanced the goods for me 130 buckskins for my ransom, which they considered equal to $260 in silver. There were five traders that were concerned in the payment of the goods to the Indians. One of them was a Mr. Brazedone, a Spaniard. who sometimes traded in the Illinois country, with whom I had some acquaintance. I told him if he would satisfy the other four traders, I would give him my note, payable in the Illinois country. He did so, and I gave him my note for $260, to be paid twelve months after date in the Illinois country, and $37 more for my boarding and necessaries I could not do without, such as a bear skin and a blanket to sleep on, a shirt, hat, tobacco and handkerchief.

My friend McCauslin took me to a Frenchman's house—he was a baker by trade, the only baker in town—to board with him until I got an opportunity

to go home. Two days after I went to stay at the baker's, the Indian that claimed me, his squaw and the young squaw that followed us to the new town, came to see me and stayed three or four hours with me. He asked me to give him some tobaccco. I told him I had no money. He thought I could get anything I wanted. I bought him a carrot of tobacco; it weighed about three pounds; he seemed very well pleased. He and his wife wanted me very much to go back home with them again. I told them I could not, that I was very anxious to go home to my wife and family. Three or four days after that they revisited me, and still insisted on me to go home with them. I told them that I expected every day to get an opportunity to go home. I had some doubts about going back with them; I thought perhaps they might play some trick with me, and take me to some other town; and their water was so bad I could not drink it — nothing but a small pond to make use of for their drinking and cooking, about forty or fifty yards long and about thirty yards wide. Their horses would not only drink, but wallow in it; the little Indian boys every day would swim in it, and the Indians soak their deer skins in it. I could not bear to drink it. When they would bring a kettle of water to drink, they would set it down on the floor. The dogs would generally take the first drink out of the kettle. I have often seen when the dogs would be drinking out of a kettle, an Indian would go up and kick him off, and take up the kettle and drink after the dog. They had nothing to eat the last week I was with them but Indian potatoes—some people call them hoppines—that grew in the woods, and they were very scarce. Sometimes the Indian boys would catch land terrapins. They would draw their heads out and tie a string around their neck and hang them up for a few minutes, and then put them in a kettle of water with some corn — when they had it—without taking the entrails out or shell off the terrapin, and eat the soup as well as the meat. We had all liked to have starved that week; we had no meat; I was glad to get away.

I stayed three weeks with the French baker before I got an opportunity to start home. I had plenty to eat while I remained with the baker—good light bread, bacon and sandy hill cranes, boiled in lyed corn, which made a very good soup. I paid him $3 a week for my board.

There was a Mr. Pyatt, a Frenchman, and his wife, whose residence was at St. Vincennes, with whom I had some acquaintance. They had moved up to that Kickapoo town in the fall of the year in order to trade with the Indians that winter. They were then ready to return home to Vincennes. Mr. Pyatt had purchased a drove of horses from the Indians. He had to go by land with his horses. Mrs. Pyatt hired a large perogue and four Frenchmen to take her property home to Vincennes. I got a passage in her perogue. She was very friendly to me; she did not charge me any thing for my passage.

We arrived in Vincennes in 48 hours after we left the Kickapoo trading town, which is said to be 210 miles. The river was very high, and the four hands rowed day and night. We never put to land but twice to get a little wood to cook something to eat.

I stayed five days at Vincennes before I got an opportunity of company to go on my way home. It was too dangerous for one man to travel alone by land without a gun. There was a Mr. Duff, who lived in the Illinois country, came to Vincennes to move a Mrs. Moredock and family to the Illinois. I got a passage with him by water. The morning I started from Vincennes he was just ready to start before I knew I could get a passage with him, and I had not time to write. I got a Mr. John Rice Jones, a friend of mine, to write to Colonel Edgar, living in Kaskaskia, in the Illinois, who was a particular friend of mine, and sent it by express, a Frenchman, that was going to start that day from Vincennes to Kaskaskia, which he could ride in four days, and requested Colonel Edgar to write to my wife, who lived at Bellfontain about 40 miles from Kaskaskia, and inform her that I was at Post Vincennes on

my return home with a Mr. Duff, by water, and inform her that I would be at Kaskaskia on a certain day; I think it was two weeks from the time I left Vincennes, and for her to send me a horse on that day to Kaskaskia. Colonel Edgar wrote to her immediately, as soon as he received Mr. Jones' letter. That was the first time she heard from me after I was taken prisoner. It was thought by my friends that the Indians had killed me. I had written to her while I was at the Kickapoo town. That letter never reached her. I had two brothers living at Bellfontain; they met me on the day I proposed being at Kaskaskia and brought me a horse. The next day I got home to Bellfontain.

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